

TA'RĪKH-I SHAIKH UWAIS

(HISTORY OF SHAIKH UWAIS)

AN IMPORTANT SOURCE
FOR THE HISTORY OF ĀDHARBAIJĀN
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BY

J. B. VAN LOON, PH. D.



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I am indebted to many persons for the assistance they have given me in finishing my studies and in preparing the present work.

I wish to express special thanks to Professor Minorsky for his readiness to impart to the beginner some of his immense knowledge in the complicated field of oriental history and geography.

AAN MIJN OUDERS

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

No period in Persian history has attracted the attention of Western historians to a greater extent, or been studied more intensively than the time of the Mongolian domination, which began at about 1220 and finished round the middle of the fourteenth century.

This interest is due largely, no doubt, to the personality and work of Jingiz Khān who stood at the beginning of this period and who succeeded in knitting together the forces of Mongolian and Turkish tribes inhabiting the vast steppes of central Asia, and in building an Asian empire of an extent hitherto unknown. But apart from its extent, this empire of the steppes distinguished itself by another aspect: under the successors of Jingiz Khān it contained two old centres of civilization, China and Persia, and for the first time in history it opened the possibility of direct communications between Eastern and Western Asia within the framework of one state. And this has made the conquest of the Mongols, often disastrous in itself, an event of the utmost importance in world history.

But the study of this period, as far as it is part of Persian history, has definitely been stimulated to a considerable extent by the existence of several excellent histories written in Persian, partly by order of the Mongolian kings who were themselves residing in Persia. The most important of these works are mentioned below.

The first in chronological order is the "Ta'rīkh-i Jihān-gūshā", the history of the World-conqueror, a work by Juwainī (1225 - 1283), who describes the conquests of Jingiz Khān. Then, as a source for the history of the Mongolian empire created in Persia by Hūlāgū and his successors, the īlkhāns, we have the work of the great historian Rashīd al-Dīn (1247 - 1318) who wrote a World-history, called Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, which ends with the events of the year 1304. His work was continued by Qāshānī in his Ta'rīkh-i Sultān Ūljāytū, and much later by Hāfiz-i Abrū (who died in 1430) in his Dhail-i Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh. As a continuation of Juwainī's Ta'rīkh-i Jihān-gūshā and as an important source for the history of the small dependent kingdoms, we have the Ta'rīkh-i Waṣṣāf, dealing with the time from 1257 until 1328. Finally, there is the less detailed general survey of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī, called Ta'rīkh-i Guzīdah (Selected History)¹.

Although less extensive than any of these works, the history

1) B. Spuler, Quellenkritik zur Mongolengeschichte Irans, in ZDMG 92 (1938) p. 219-243, and Spuler/Iran p. 4-11.

which is the subject of the present study, the *Ta'rīkh-i Shāikh Uwais*, is one of the works of reference dealing with the decay of the Mongolian period in Persia, i.e. the first half of the fourteenth century. It owes its importance to its early origin, which we may put at about 1360, and also to the fact that it deals especially with the history of one of the most important dynasties which became heir to part of the Mongolian empire, viz. the Jalāyirs.

Unfortunately only one copy of *Ta'rīkh-i Shāikh Uwais* has been preserved, as far as is known, and even that is in a defective state. The absence of some pages at the end prevents us from fixing the date on which the work was finished.

Little is known about its author. The only information we have about him is his name, which is given on page six of the manuscript: *Abū Bakr al-Qutbī al-Ahrī*. So he appears to have been a native of the town of Ahr or Ahar in *Ādharbaijān*, and from the lively description given by him of events round the middle of the fourteenth century we may conclude that he lived and worked in *Ādharbaijān* in the first half and at about the middle of that century. I have found no further details about him in his own work or in other books of reference.

Like many of the products of Muslim historiography, both Arabic and Persian, *Ta'rīkh-i Shāikh Uwais* takes the form of a general history, beginning at the time of *Ādam* and continuing up to the author's life-time. As in most other works, the rise of *Islām* is the focal point of history and is a decisive factor in the division of the work: accordingly, after dedicating his book to *Sultān Shāikh Uwais*, using the conventional flattery, *al-Ahrī* divides his work into two parts, the first dealing with the period before *Islām* and the second with the period following *Islām*.

In the first part, beginning with *Ādam*, there is a subdivision into four dynasties (the *Pīshdādians*, *Kayānians*, *Ashkānians* and *Sāsānians*). In this part *al-Ahrī* tells the history from the time of *Ādam* on, listing the best-known biblical characters, which also occur in *Qur'anic* tales, and the old Persian kings as they are known from the *Shāhnāmāh*. He quotes *Tabarī* as one of his sources, and also the *Shāhnāmāh*, though *al-Ahrī* sometimes disagrees with *Firdausī*, from whose work I have found only one verse quoted literally. The sequence of the Persian kings is practically the same as it is in the *Shāhnāmāh*. A few other books are occasionally mentioned, such as for instance the *Jamāstnāmāh*, the *Tawārīkh-i Sanjarī* and the *Haft Paikar* of *Nizāmī*.

The second part, or the history since the appearance of *Islām*, is subdivided into five dynasties (the orthodox caliphs, *Umayyads*, *Marwānids*, *'Abbāsids* and *Mongols*). The history of early

Islām and the first conquests are given in summary form, special attention being devoted to 'Irāq and Persia. As the story proceeds attention to and special interest in these countries are far more satisfactorily achieved when the caliphate is transferred to Baghdād and the centre of Islām is shifted to 'Irāq and Persia for several centuries. The Saljūq and Ghaznawid and other smaller dynasties, which came into being and played important roles in the period of decay of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Persia, 'Irāq and surrounding countries, are dealt with in great detail.

The author was dependent for all these periods, including the first decades of the last period treated by him, — the time of the Mongol invasion and domination — on the books written by his predecessors; he contented himself with copying them or summarizing the contents of their works, and the effect of this can be seen in the terseness of his style which is occasionally obtuse. Although it is possible that he incorporated some details from works no longer extant, thereby supplementing our knowledge about these earlier periods, nevertheless, as a general rule, the part of this kind of work most deserving attention and interest is the one in which the author treats events which are contemporaneous or nearly so; events or circumstances which he describes from his own experience or from direct or indirect contact.

The part of the manuscript with which we are concerned here deals with the period from the death of the Mongolian conqueror of Persia and 'Irāq, Hūlāgū, in 1265 till the point where the manuscript finishes, i.e. 1359.

For most of his data about the time from 1265 till 1304, the author is largely dependent on the works of the greatest historian of the Persian-speaking world, Rashīd al-Dīn, whose *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī* ends in 1304. In various places, the extremely abridged and, in some cases, inaccurate story of al-Ahrī, written in obtuse, concise style, can only be understood by referring to the works of Rashīd al-Dīn. It goes without saying that for this period, a book of the relatively small size of *Ta'rikh-i Shāikh Uwais*, has little of importance to add to the story of Rashīd al-Dīn. There are, however, minor differences in the orthography of personal names (for instance Tūdān, whereas Rashīd al-Dīn writes Tūdūn, Shīdūn for Sūdūn in the work of Rashīd) ² and in dates or events (for example in his description of the struggle between Bāydū and Ghāzān, Rashīd-al Dīn is exclusively in favour of his protector, Ghāzān). It appears from the story about the struggle between Ghāzān and Bāydū, that al-Ahrī's description

2) MS p.136; RaD/Jahn I, 31.

approximates to the Paris manuscript of the work of Rashīd. Apart from further differences in details, al-Ahrī distinguishes himself by his interest in the rulers of the Mongolian empire in Southern Russia, the Dasht-i Qipchāq to which Rashīd al-Dīn pays no attention at all ³.

It is possible that for some details of the events described by him of the history after 1304, the author was dependent on sources like the above-mentioned unpublished work of Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī, but as the events which he relates become nearer to his own lifetime, there is a very striking contrast with the earlier part of his book, both in style and in the mode of description. The style becomes more lively and much less terse and the story much more independent. He includes in his description many details of the local history of his native country, Ādharbaijān.

When we compare the story of al-Ahrī with one of the most important sources for the history of North-west Persia in this period, viz. the work of Hāfiz-i Abrū (died in 1430), it appears that both works have in common the main trend of events during those years. One passage, describing the struggle before the gate of Baghdād ⁴ can be found quite literally in the work of Hāfiz-i Abrū ⁵. This might indicate either that Hāfiz-i Abrū used the present work as a source, directly or indirectly, or, although this seems less likely, that both used a common source. Apart from the common passage mentioned above, however, and one or two resemblances in words or parts of sentences, in this part we find many events which are described by al-Ahrī with details of the history and historical geography of Ādharbaijān which we do not find in Hāfiz-i Abrū.

Throughout the final part of the work, al-Ahrī devotes most of his attention to his native country, Ādharbaijān, and to the dynasty which ruled, intermittently, during his lifetime, viz., the dynasty of the Jalāyirs, to one of whom, Sultān Shāikh Uwais, he dedicated his work.

Ādharbaijān and the adjacent areas, south of the Caucasus, were the parts of the Mongolian empire in Persia and 'Irāq, which, owing to their position, had the most direct contact with the Mongols in Southern Russia. This explains why al-Ahrī, unlike many other historians in Persia, was also concerned with events

3) V. Tizengauzen: Sbornik materialov otnosjaščikhsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, II. Izvlečenija iz Persidskikh sočinenij. Moskva - Leningrad, 1941. Persian text p. 228-231; Russian translation p. 99 - 103. This work was not accessible to me but contains, according to information kindly given by Prof. Minorsky, extracts from pages 132 - 137, 140, 146, 150 - 151, 153, 155 - 157, 176 - 179, 184.

4) MS p. 173.

5) HA/Bayani p. 177 - 178.

on the other side of the Caucasus. As a result he treats the names of the Mongolian rulers in the Dasht-i Qipchāq as equal in importance to those of the rulers of Persia. His information, nevertheless, is rather scanty ⁶.

Special attention is devoted to the members of the Jalāyir dynasty and to their exploits. Al-Ahrī cites incidents which are not to be found elsewhere (for instance about Shaikh Hasan Buzurg in Gurjistān and Rūm ⁷, the rise to power of Shaikh Hasan ⁸. Limiting his interest to his native country and to the areas in which the Jalāyirs fought or were influential, al-Ahrī gives hardly any information about the other, often much more powerful dynasties which arose after the decay of the Mongolian empire in Persia, such as for instance the Muẓaffarī's and the Karts.

In conclusion it may be said that Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais is an independent source of knowledge about the history of North-west Persia and about the contacts with the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the first half of the fourteenth century.

It is a great pity that the single extant copy of al-Ahrī's work is incomplete and that it stops just at the point where we might have expected the most detailed first-hand information, viz. the beginning of the reign of Sultān Shaikh Uwais. Whether the author himself never completed his work, or the copyist did not finish his task, we do not know.

T h e J a l ā y i r d y n a s t y

With the death of Sultān Abū Sa'īd in 1335, the Mongolian dynasty in Persia and Western Asia, descending from Hūlāgū Khān, had practically come to an end, and after a few monarchs who were short-lived, Mongolian power in Persia may be said to have disappeared completely. This was shortly before the middle of the fourteenth century. A period of anarchy followed and in the interregnum of half a century until the rise of Timūr, a number of petty dynasties divided the country, the best-known of them being the Jalāyirs in the West, the Muẓaffarī's in the South-West, the Sarbadārs in the area of Sabzawār and the Karts in the North-East (Herāt) ⁹.

Among these dynasties, the Jalāyirs were the most important.

6) E.g. in the series of rulers of the Dasht-i Qipchāq he omits the name of Teleboğa who ruled from 1287 till 1291.

7) MS p. 157.

8) MS p. 164, 165.

9) Browne III, p. 159-180.

They ruled the centre of the disintegrated empire: Mesopotamia and Ādharbaijān. And although another Mongolian tribe, the Chū-pānids, restricted the sphere of influence of Hasan Buzurg, the Jalāyir, to Baghdād, his son Uwais extended this once again as far as the Caucasus. He repulsed the menacing invasion from the North, where the rulers of the Mongolian empire in Russia again tried to advance to the south of the Caucasus. And to the West he prevented the interference of that other enemy of the Mongols in Persia and 'Irāq, the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt ¹⁰. But after his death in 1374, his kingdom was divided into two, which facilitated its conquest by a new conqueror: Timūr. More than any other dynasty, the Jalāyirs favoured arts and literature.

As this history deals with the most prominent member of the Jalāyir dynasty and pays special attention to his ancestors, it may be useful to give here a short sketch of the history of the whole dynasty.

The Jalāyirs were a large and important Mongolian tribe whose name is also found in later times for clans of the Ordos, Kirgiz and Uzbek. The Jalāyir dynasty in Persia was also called the Īlkānī dynasty, being derived from Īlkā (Ilgā) or Īlgāy Nūyān, who served under Hūlāgū and who played an important rôle during the conquest of South-West Asia by the Mongols ¹¹. He was still alive at the time of the death of Hūlāgū in 1265 ¹², but after that we do not hear any more about him. His children continued to hold important posts in the Mongolian empire of Western Asia and intermarried with the descendants of Hūlāgū.

His son Tūghū (or Tūghī or Tūghūz or Tūgū) Bitikchī¹³ was sent to Rūm when Abaqā succeeded Hūlāgū, and we find him there at the time of Baibars' advance to that area in 1275. Apparently he died or was killed at about this time, and his heirs inherited part of Rūm (probably Konya)¹⁴.

Uruqtū, whose son Iqbāl was killed shortly after Ghāzān ascended the throne ¹⁵, was another of İlgā Nūyān's sons, the most prominent of whom was Aqbūqā. After the death of Abaqā, when several possible successors to the throne were brought forward, such as Takūdār (Aḥmad), Mankū Timūr and Arghūn, Aqbūqā sided with the last one ¹⁶, but when finally Aḥmad succeeded he transferred his allegiance. He was sent to Rūm against Qūnqūratāy in

10) Spuler, Geschichte der islamischen Länder, zweiter Abschnitt: Die Mongolenzeit p. 45 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, sechster Band, Leiden - Köln 1953).

12) RaD/Jahn I, p. 6-7.

12) RAD/Jahn I, p. 6, 7.
13) MS. B. 1.24. 1.25.

14) MS p. 136.

14) MS p. 136.

15) Rad/Jahn II, p. 98.

16) Rad/Jahn I, p. 44.

1282¹⁷ and acted as counsellor to Aḥmad, to whom he remained loyal when the latter had to defend the throne against Arghūn. When Arghūn gained the victory and ascended the throne in 1284, Aqbūqā was arrested, but acquitted. Nevertheless, although he married a daughter of Arghūn, Ūljatāy, it seems that he did not hold a prominent position. In 1290 he was in Rūm¹⁸.

When Gaikhātū succeeded Arghūn in 1291, Aqbūqā again came to the fore. He helped the new ruler to punish the opposing emirs and acted as commander-in-chief of his troops when Gaikhātū was ill in 1292. Together with three other emirs he went to Tabrīz for the disastrous issue of the paper-money and when he was sent against the rival of Gaikhātū, Bāydū, in March 1295¹⁹, and his colleague Taghāchār went over to the enemy in the neighbourhood of the river Jaghātū, he remained loyal and was arrested and killed in the same month near Hashtrūd at the instigation of Qūnchūqbāl.

Of his children, Ḥusain, Mūsāīl and Ūdūnjī²⁰, (the first two names showing the influence of Islām on the Jalāyirs) Ḥusain enjoyed the favour of Ūljāytū and later of Abū Sa'īd. Ḥusain married Ūljatāy, the wife of his father²¹. He took part in the campaign against Gīlān in 1307²² and he was sent to Khurāsān against the rebellious Yasāwūr whom he drove back to Nīshāpūr, Tūs and Herāt, but only after the arrival of reinforcements²³. Amir Ḥusain died in January – February 1322 in Khurāsān and was buried in Tabrīz²⁴.

The Shaikh 'Alī, whose daughter Anūshirwān Khātūn married Dīnī Bek, the later ruler of the Dasht-i Qipchāq, in 1331, was probably his son²⁵. But it was his other son, Ḥasan, who acquired a strong position in the period of decay of the Mongolian power in Persia and 'Irāq, who was the real founder of the power of the Jalāyir dynasty. The rather latent struggle under the rule of Abū Sa'īd (1317-1335) became, under that of his numerous successors, an open struggle between the real rivals, the Jalāyirs on one side, and the Ūyrats and Suldūz (Chūpānids) on the other. In this struggle the Chūpānids proved to be more astute, ruthless and successful (at least in the beginning) than the Jalāyirs.

At the beginning of the reign of the young and inexperienced king Abū Sa'īd, Chūpān obtained an all-powerful position and lit-

17) RaD/Jahn I, p. 47.

18) RaD/Jahn I, p. 77.

19) RaD/Jahn I, p. 89 – 90.

20) MS p. 146; Berezin p. 37.

21) RaD/Jahn I, p. 61.

22) HA/Bayani p. 17.

23) HA/Bayani p. 104 – 106.

24) Mirkhwand V, p. 150; Mustaufi p. 606; MS p. 151.

25) MS p. 156.

the was heard about Shaikh Hasan or his activities. The opposition of Abū Sa'īd and many emirs to Chūpān and his relatives, however, brought about the final downfall of the once mighty emir and he was killed in 1327 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the king of Herāt, with whom he had taken refuge ²⁶. In the same year, Shaikh Hasan was in Qarābāgh and, according to Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais, at that time he dominated Ādharbaijān, Mūghān, Arrān and Shirwān ²⁷. He received the title "emir of the ulūs", and apparently he had such a strong position that he aroused the envy of a number of emirs who accused him of conspiring against the life of king Abū Sa'īd. They claimed that in this he was in allegiance with Baghdād Khātūn, his former wife, whom he had had to divorce and cede to the king. He was sentenced to death and only the intervention of his mother, who was an aunt of Abū Sa'īd, could induce the king to change the sentence into banishment to the fortress of Kamākh ²⁸. This happened in 1331/1332. After about a year the false nature of the accusations came to light and in the winter 1333-1334 Shaikh Hasan was sent to Gurjistān and later the whole of Rūm was assigned to him.

With the death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335, the regular and, to a certain extent, central government of the Mongolian empire in Persia came to an end. The real power during the next few years lay in the hands of the two principal factions, the Jalāyirs and their opponents, the Suldūz or Chūpānids and the Ūyrats, whose ambitions were "thinly masked by the puppet princes of the race of Hūlāgū, whom they successfully raised to a nominal and generally brief sovereignty" ²⁹.

Under the immediate successor of Abū Sa'īd, Arpā, Shaikh Hasan again became emir of the ulūs ³⁰. But the Ūyrat 'Alī Bāshāh rebelled in Baghdād and installed on the throne one Mūsā, a grandson of Bāydū. In a battle near the river Jaghātū, Arpā was beaten by 'Alī Bāshāh who afterwards came to Ūjān in the company of Mūsā and had Arpā killed in Sultāniyyah on May 15, 1336. Several emirs, especially Hājjī Taghāy, soon began to oppose Mūsā and 'Alī Bāshāh and they instigated Shaikh Hasan who was in Ūjān, or according to other sources in Rūm, to march against them ³¹. At first, Hasan hesitated, but then he went to Ādharbaijān and, on July 20, 1336, placed on the throne a descendant of Anbārchī, called Muhammad (or originally Pīr Husain ³²). Several emirs, among them

26) HA/Bayani p. 133.

27) MS p. 153.

28) HA/Bayani p. 142; Mīrkhwānd v. p. 158; MS p. 156.

29) Browne III, p. 171 - 172.

30) MS p. 159.

31) HA/Bayani p. 151 - 152; MS p. 161.

32) MS p. 161.

Sūrghān, joined Shaikh Hasan who, according to Mīrkhwānd, tried to reach an agreement with 'Alī Bāshāh³³. 'Alī Bāshāh was a willing party to this but was thwarted by his emirs. On July 24, 1336, however, a battle took place between the two parties. It seems that 'Alī Bāshāh managed to obtain the neutrality of Shaikh Hasan and to leave the two pretenders to the throne to fight the battle. Muḥammad was defeated on the first day of this battle which was fought at Qarādarah. But Shaikh Hasan saw that he had been deceived by 'Alī Bāshāh and found Mūsā's troops engaged in plundering, and on the following day he defeated the army of Mūsā, who escaped. 'Alī Bāshāh was killed³⁴.

Under the nominal rule of his puppet Muḥammad, Shaikh Hasan became the real ruler of North-West Persia. He married Dilshād Khātūn, who was renowned for her beauty and brilliance. She was the daughter of the Chūpānid Dimishq Khwājah. He sent his emirs to Kurdistan, Diyārbakr, Qarābāgh and Baghdād. But his enemies did not rest. Hasan's emir, Qarā Hasan, was defeated by Mūsā Khān on the bank of the river Aqsū in the eastern Caucasus, and Hājji Tūghānak was defeated by the Ūyrats who were in Baghdad³⁵. And 'Alī Ja'far, whom he had sent to Khurāsān, treacherously instigated Shaikh 'Alī to place Tughāy Timūr on the throne, and they marched to Irān. They met the troops of Shaikh Hasan, Muḥammad, Sūrghān and his mother Sātī Bek, who were in Arrān, in the neighbourhood of Marāghah in June 1337 and suffered a heavy defeat. Mūsā Khān was taken prisoner and killed and Shaikh 'Alī met a similar fate in Khurāsān at the hand of Arghūnshāh³⁶.

The power of Shaikh Hasan was not unlimited. He assigned Diyārbakr, Rūm, Nakhchawān, Mūghān, Khurāsān, Fārs, Shīrāz and Baghdād to his emirs and settled in Mūghān in the winter of 1338³⁷.

Apart from the set-back caused by the defeat of his emir Muḥammad Maulāyad or Maulāy in Khurāsān, however, a dangerous enemy entered the scene at this stage in the person of the Chūpānid Shaikh Hasan, the son of Timūrtāsh, called Hasan Kūchik, the Little One, in distinction from his Jalāyir namesake Shaikh Hasan, who was usually called Hasan Buzurg, the Great One.

Hasan Kūchik was in the fortress of Qarā Hīṣār in Rūm and started a rebellion against Artanā, whom Hasan Buzurg had left there as his governor when marching against 'Alī Bāshāh. He introduced a certain Qarā Jumrī and asserted that this was his father Timūrtāsh, who had in reality been killed in prison in

33) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 161.

34) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 161; HA/Bayani p. 152 - 153.

35) MS p. 162 - 164.

36) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 162; HA/Bayanu p. 154 - 155; MS p. 163.

37) MS p. 164.

Egypt, but who, according to Ḥasan, had escaped from there and had now come to Rūm³⁸. Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg marched against the alleged Timūrtāsh from Tabrīz and gave battle in Alāṭāq in July 1338, but was defeated. Muḥammad, the nominal ruler, was taken prisoner and killed by Qarā Jumrī, who also distrusted Shaikh Ḥasan Kūchik, however, and tried to kill him when he came back from the campaign. When Qarā Jumrī came to Tabrīz, Ḥasan Buzurg went from there to Ūjān, where the Chūpānids and Ūyrats were at that moment, and returned later again to Tabrīz³⁹.

Ḥasan Kūchik and his followers hoped to strengthen their position by putting Sātī Bek, the sister of the late king Abū Sa'īd, on the throne in Warzuqān⁴⁰. Sātī Bek had first been married to Chūpān and later to Abū Sa'īd's successor Arpā, and the Chūpānids, believing that their own claims to power and those of Sātī Bek were legal and more justifiable than those of the other party, went to Sultāniyyah and attempted to persuade Ḥasan Buzurg to come to them to Qarābāgh. He refused, however, and was offered help, or more probably asked for help from Tughāy Timūr and Arghūnshāh who came from Khurāsān. But on the eve of the decisive battle, the astute Shaikh Ḥasan Kūchik managed by trickery to effect the retreat of Tughāy Timūr and Arghūnshāh to Khurāsān⁴¹.

Ḥasan Buzurg was now in a difficult position. He went to Baghdād and installed Jihān Timūr, son of Alafrank, on the throne.

Ḥasan Kūchik, thinking it preferable to have a male occupant on the throne, countered this move. He came to Ūjān and crowned Sulaimān, a descendant of Yashmūt, son of Hūlāgū (according to Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais, his real name was Ilyās)⁴², who married queen Sātī Bek. Ḥasan Kūchik successfully repelled attacks on his position in Ādharbaijān by Ḥasan Buzurg, and defeated Sūrghān who started a rebellion in Rayy, aided by Tughāy Timūr. Sūrghān was taken prisoner and banished to the fortress of Qarā Ḥiṣār⁴³.

In his struggle against Ḥasan Kūchik, Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg found questionable allies in the Chūpānids Yāghī Bāstī and Malik Ashraf, who revolted against Ḥasan Kūchik and fled, together with several Ūyrats, to Baghdād. But when Ḥasan Kūchik tried to persuade them to come back and help him, Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg grew suspicious and tried to kill them. Thereupon, they fled and occupied themselves with plundering until the cruel murder of Ḥasan Kūchik by his wife 'Izzat Malik on December 15, 1343 permitted them to return to Sultāniyyah⁴⁴.

38) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 162; HA/Bayani p. 156 - 157; MS p. 164 - 165.

39) HA/Bayani p. 157; MS p. 165.

40) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 163; HA/Bayani p. 158; MS p. 166.

41) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 163-164; MS p. 166 - 167 gives a too favourable description of the weak position of Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg.

42) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 164.

43) HA/Bayani p. 162 - 166; MS p. 168 - 169.

44) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 165; HA/Bayani p. 169 - 171; MS p. 169 - 170.

Sulaimān, having lost all influence with the Chūpānids, came to Ūjān and joined Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg, with whom he returned once again to Tabrīz. Meanwhile, Malik Ashraf and Yāghī Bāstī concluded an agreement with Sūrghān, who had escaped from the fortress of Qarā Ḥiṣār to which he had been banished. Sūrghān, however, soon defeated by Malik Ashraf and leaving Yāghī Bāstī, went to Diyārbakr, where he was cordially received by Īlkān, the son of Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg ⁴⁵. From there he went to Artanā in Rūm, together with his mother Sātī Bek and Sulaimān, and later to Baghdād to Ḥasan Buzurg, who treated him well, but, when he rebelled, had him punished by his son Īlkān.

Malik Ashraf, meanwhile, had killed his former ally and nephew Yāghī Bāstī, and now made plans to conquer the town of Baghdād. After he had defeated Īlkān in Kurdistan in 1346, he set out in the following year for Baghdād. Ḥasan Buzurg was only prevented by the resoluteness of his wife Dilshād Khātūn from retreating to Kamākh, and finally Malik Ashraf had to raise the siege of Baghdād ⁴⁶. His siege of Isfahān was also in vain ⁴⁷, but Ādhar-baijān remained under his tyranny till he was defeated and killed in Kūbtū (Gūbdū?) by Jānī Bek, the ruler of the Dasht-i Qipchāq, in 1356/1357 ⁴⁸.

In July 1356 Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg died ⁴⁹. He was buried, as were several of his descendants after him, at Najaf, the town where the tomb of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was situated ⁵⁰. The fact that Ḥasan chose the town with this sanctuary of the Shī'ites as his last resting-place, indicates that the Jalāyirs had been completely iranised by this time and had taken the side of the religion that was prevalent in their domains, viz. the Shī'ite form of Islām. This is also evident from the choice of names, such as 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, so common to the Shī'ites because they were borne by 'Alī and his sons ⁵¹.

Ḥasan Buzurg was succeeded by his son Sultān Uwais who was the best-known scion of the Jalāyir dynasty, probably because of his cultural works and the poems dedicated to him, rather than on account of his political and military successes.

The first task which he set himself was the clearing of the Northern part of his realm. Together with 'Alī Pīltan and 'Īsā

45) HA/Bayani p. 174 - 176; MS p. 170 - 171.

46) HA/Bayani p. 178; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 167; MS wisely omits mentioning the plan of Ḥasan Buzurg to leave Baghdād.

47) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 168; HA/Bayani p. 180 - 181.

48) HA/Bayani p. 187 - 188; MS p. 172 - 179.

49) HA/Bayani p. 184; MS p. 175; EI, s.v. Ḥasan Buzurg.

50) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 171; HA/Bayani p. 195.

51) Does the title "Shaikh" perhaps imply leadership, nominal or real, of a dervish order? The combination of political and religious power was not uncommon, as can be seen in the origin of the Safawid dynasty.

Bek, he marched to Ādharbaijān against Akhījūq who had taken possession of that area after the death of Malik Ashraf and the return of Jānī Bek and his son Birdī Bek to the Dašt-i Qipchāq ⁵². After some initial successes for Akhījūq resulting from the dubious attitude of 'Isā Bek and the Ūyrats in the army of Uwais, he was finally defeated by Uwais, near Kūh Sīnā ⁵³ on August 6, 1358. Akhījūq and his Ashrafi's went to Nakhehawān and Uwais entered Tabriz and took up residence in the 'Imarat-i Raghīdī. Uwais tried to win the opposing emirs over to his side and bestowed favours on them, except forty-seven whose intentions were suspected and who were put to death ⁵⁴. This last stroke appeared to increase the number of adherents of Akhījūq; he assembled troops in Nakhehawān, Barda'ah and Arrān and defeated 'Alī Piltan at Sānbūl ⁵⁵, after the hesitancy and indecision of the latter persuaded the Turkomāns in his army to go over to the enemy ⁵⁶. Uwais retreated safely to Baghdād though he suffered some losses on the way.

Mubārīz al-Dīn Muhammad of Yazd then marched to Ādharbaijān, defeated Akhījūq near Marāghah, and entered Tabriz, but returned to Isfahān after only a few days on hearing of the new advance of Uwais, who re-entered Tabriz and took up residence in the house of Shaikh Kajajī (?). He tried to win the friendship of Akhījūq who had fled to Qabbān, but when he was informed by Kajajī that Akhījūq, 'Alī Piltan and Khawājah Jalāl al-Dīn Qawwīnī engineered a plot against his life, he put them to death ⁵⁷. In 1360 he sent Abū Ishāq, the son of Ilkān, to conquer Rayy, but he fled to Bagrah and was later poisoned ⁵⁸.

In the spring of 1361, Uwais was in Ūjān and in the autumn of the same year he went to Tabriz. In the winter of 1364, when he was on the point of marching to Qarābāgh against Kāwus Shirwānī, he was informed of the rebellion of the governor of Baghdād, Khawājah Marjān. He went there and took the town, though Marjān had inundated its surroundings. Having stayed there for about eleven months and entrusted the town to Sulaimān Khāzin, he went, in the spring of 1366, to Diyārbakr, Maṣṣīl and Mārdīn. In this area resided a tough enemy who still defied the authority of the Jalāyirs: Bairam, the chief of the Qara-qoyunlu or Black Sheep Turks. Uwais defeated him near Mūsh and plundered his possessions.

52) HA/Bayani p. 189; MS p. 180 - 183.

53) HA/Bayani p. 189; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 170 has Kūh Sīnā; Khwāndamīr III/1, p. 81: سینا = سنتای (Suntāy). Cf. note 130 of the translation.

54) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 170; HA/Bayani p. 190.

55) MS p. 183. The reading of this name is uncertain.

56) HA/Bayani p. 190.

57) HA/Bayani p. 190 - 191; Mustanfi p. 676 - 680.

58) HA/Bayani p. 191.

He spent the summer in Tabriz and the next winter in Baghdad and came to Tabriz again in the spring of 1367. Yet another opponent was subdued at this point: Kāwās Shīrwānī, who had come to Tabriz twice during the absence of Uwais but whose possessions and countries were now plundered and destroyed till he submitted to Uwais, who gave back to him and a few others who had also recognized his authority, their lands as far as Garband, in return for the payment of a tribute ⁵⁹.

Uwais, having ensured his power on the western and northern side of his realm, turned eastward. In 1370/1371 he defeated Amīr Wallī, who had ruled Astarābād and its surroundings since the death of the Khurāsānī ruler Tughāy Timūr, in Rayy. Rayy itself was given to Qutlughshāh ⁶⁰ and two years later to 'Āṭai Āghā who was to play such an important rôle under the successors of Uwais. Uwais stopped the campaign against Amīr Wallī when he was informed of the death of his brother Amīr Zāhid, who, while drunk, had fallen from a roof in Ūjān in 1371/1372. Another brother of his, Amīr Qāsim, had died of consumption in 1367/1368 and was buried in Najaf ⁶¹.

Fighting his enemies, however, was not the only occupation of Uwais. He loved poetry and protected poets. One of them, Saīmān Bāwajī, wrote a number of panegyrics on his exploits, al-Rāmī dedicated his "Kitāb al-'ushshāq" to him. Uwais himself composed verses and was a good calligraphist and painter. He sent several golden and silver chandeliers to Mekka where his name was mentioned later for a number of years in the Friday's sermon. He tried to revive and to promote trade. Two letters are known to have been sent by him to Trebizond and to the Venetians, proposing a resumption of trade between the Black Sea and Tabriz and offering favourable conditions. It seems however that the Venetians were extremely hesitant and unwilling as long as it was not proved that travelling between Tabriz and the Black Sea harbours was safe ⁶².

Uwais died of consumption on October 9, 1374 ⁶³. His tomb is at Shādī Ābād-i Mashāyikh, near Tabriz ⁶⁴. An aquarelle of its

59) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 171; HA/Bayani p. 192 - 195.

60) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 171 - 172; HA/Bayani p. 196.

61) HA/Bayani p. 195 - 196.

62) EI s.v. Uwais and al-Rāmī; Wüstenfeld, Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, 1861, IV p. 258, 260; W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant, Leipzig 1886, p. 129, 131.

63) Khwāndamīr III/I, p. 82.

64) Prof. Minorsky kindly informed me of a note on his grave in: Nashriyeh-i Dāneshkadeh-i Tabriz, vol. III, number 7, p. 411-413. The various readings in other sources (HA/Bayani p. 197: در بیرون شیروان; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 172: در بیرون شیروان; Khwāndamīr III/I, p. 82: در بیرون شیروان) must be understood, probably, as "outside the gate of Shīrwān" (one of the gates of Tabriz).

remains, as they existed in the middle of the last century, has been inserted in a Russian album of epigraphs ⁶⁵.

After the death of Uwais, the power of his dynasty, built up by him and his father, began to disappear rapidly. He had arranged for his eldest son Ḥasan to inherit Baghdād and for another son, Ḥusain, to succeed him as king. Expecting that Ḥasan would not accept this ruling, the emirs, perhaps with the consent of Uwais, put him to death immediately after his father had died. Ḥusain was installed on the throne and recognized by the large majority of the emirs ⁶⁶. Only Shāh Maḥmūd, the son-in-law of Uwais, made trouble and came from Iṣfahān to Tabrīz, but he fell ill and died very shortly after his return to Iṣfahān ⁶⁷. In the subsequent troubles in Iṣfahān, Shāh Shujā' succeeded in conquering the town, and then set out for Tabrīz. Ḥusain and 'Ādil Āghā assembled their troops, but they had to return to Baghdād. Shāh Shujā' did not enjoy the possession of Tabrīz for long. Dissention in the town itself, the loss of many of his soldiers due to the rigours of the winter, and an insurrection at Qazwīn, compelled him to return to Iṣfahān and this gave Ḥusain an opportunity to return to Tabrīz in the summer of 1376. At a meeting with his emirs at Ūjān it was decided first of all to pacify the Turkomāns of the Qara-qoyunlu or Black-Sheep Horde, who were led by the troublesome Bairam Khwājah, staying at the time in Erzerum. The following spring they marched westward and gained a number of successes when fighting against Bairam and his nephew Qarā Maḥmūd. At the other side of the realm, Mansūr, sent to Yazd by Shāh Shujā', went over to the side of Ḥusain's powerful emir 'Ādil Āghā and was given Hamadān ⁶⁸.

The strong position of 'Ādil Āghā apparently caused friction with the emirs. Sultān Ḥusain, asked to act as an arbiter, chose the side of 'Ādil Āghā and ordered the emirs to be punished ⁶⁹. The real government was virtually in the hands of 'Ādil Āghā.

In 1378/1379 Baghdād rebelled, under the nominal leadership of prince Shaikh 'Alī, son of Uwais, but in reality under Pīr 'Alī Bādīk, who also owned Shūshtar. Sultān Ḥusain and 'Ādil Āghā deliberated in Sultāniyyah and resolved to march to Baghdād. When they were half-way, they were informed that the enemy had marched against them but had turned away to Shūshtar. Sultān Ḥusain wanted to march to Baghdād, 'Ādil was in favour of going to Shūshtar and liberating prince Shaikh 'Alī from the hands of Pīr 'Alī Bā-

65) Epigrafika Vostoka II (Moskva - Leningrad 1948) p. 34.
 66) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 172; HA/Bayani p. 197 - 198.
 67) HA/Bayani p. 198; Mustaufī p. 714 - 717.
 68) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 172 - 173; HA/Bayani p. 199 - 204.
 69) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 173; HA/Bayani p. 205 - 209.

dik. Finally Husain put troops at the disposal of 'Adil who laid siege to Shushtar in the beginning of 1381. But when Shaiikh 'Ali threatened to turn to Shah Shuja' in Shiraz, 'Adil Agha agreed to leave him in the possession of Shushtar in exchange for his submission to Husain. 'Adil went back to Baghdad and Sultan Husain and he agreed that the former should remain in Baghdad and that 'Adil should go to Kurdistan, but he went, in fact, to Sultaniyyah ⁷⁰.

Pir 'Ali, supported by a number of emirs, came to Baghdad, professedly to show his submission. But Sultan Husain distrusted him, had several emirs killed and fled next day unhindered to Tabriz.

'Adil Agha ran into difficulties when, during his stay in Qazwin, Amir Wali Astarabadi and Shah Mansur united to oppose him. When a number of emirs of Tabriz joined him he was in a stronger position, although he had to give Rayy to Amir Wali, who left Shah Mansur there. Another opponent, Shah Shuja', marched to Tabriz and entered Sultaniyyah. Sultan Husain and Sultan Ahmad, his brother, came to 'Adil's aid very slowly with their troops from Qarabagh, and he finally concluded an agreement with Shah Shuja' who returned to Shiraz ⁷¹.

'Adil then undertook the siege of Rayy, the town which he had given to Amir Wali and which was defended by Shah Mansur. At the precise moment that Shah Mansur was on the point of capitulating, news arrived that Sultan Husain had been killed, and this encouraged the besieged and induced 'Adil to raise the siege.

The siege of Rayy itself contributed to the death of Sultan Husain. When all the emirs and soldiers had left Tabriz to assist 'Adil, Sultan Ahmad, the brother of Sultan Husain, went to his fief at Ardabil. When Husain wished him to return, Ahmad assembled troops in Ardabil, Arran and Mughan and came back to Tabriz at the end of April 1382, took possession of the undefended palace, ascended the throne and killed Husain, who was buried in the 'Imarat-i Dimishqiyyah ⁷².

Sultan Bayazid, Ahmad's brother, fled from Tabriz to Sultaniyyah and was proclaimed king by 'Adil and his emirs. Ahmad was driven away, but he managed to win a number of people over to his side and returned to Tabriz. He soon had to leave the town again, however, for prince Shaiikh 'Ali and Pir 'Ali Bidak, who had been informed by 'Adil of the events in Tabriz, came from Baghdad with their troops. When Ahmad advanced against him, a number of his emirs went over to Shaiikh 'Ali. Ahmad himself fled to Nakhchawan.

70) Mirkhwand V, p. 173 - 174; HA/Bayani p. 212 - 215; Mustaufi p. 721.

71) HA/Bayani p. 216 - 219; Mustaufi p. 725.

72) Mirkhwand V, p. 175; HA/Bayani p. 220 - 221.

where he concluded an agreement, with numerous qualifying conditions, with Qarā Muḥammad and his Turkomāns, whereupon the latter defeated and killed prince Shaikh 'Alī and Pīr 'Alī, who were in pursuit ⁷³.

Once again, Aḥmad came to Tabrīz and once again, when 'Ādil and the emirs of Baghdād arrived, he left the town and went to Arrān and Mūghān. 'Ādil assumed the government in Tabrīz and, having sent Muṣṭafā Qūshchī to Baghdād, he went himself to Mūghān in pursuit of Aḥmad. Through the mediation of Hūshank, an agreement was concluded between Aḥmad and 'Ādil to the effect that Aḥmad should have Ādharbaijān, Sultān Bāyazīd Persian 'Irāq, and Arabian 'Irāq would be under condominium of Aḥmad and 'Ādil. 'Ādil, however, prompted by the emirs of Baghdād, wanted to reign supreme in Baghdād. He sent Tūrsun there, who killed the governor 'Abd al-Malik Tamghāchī. Making use of the ensuing confusion, Aḥmad conquered the town and Tūrsun was killed at his command. In the spring of 1383 he went to Tabrīz; a battle against 'Ādil ended in an indecisive result ⁷⁴.

North-Western Persia became the battle field for larger armies, however, when it was involved in the struggle between the conqueror Timūr and his opponent Tūqtāmīsh. In the preliminary stage of this fighting, 'Ādil was firmly established in the fortress of Sultāniyyah and was able to defy Sultān Aḥmad and his ally, Amīr Walī, who had to raise the siege of Sultāniyyah when Tūqtāmīsh invaded Ādharbaijān and entered Tabrīz. Meanwhile, 'Ādil increased his power, drove Amīr Walī and the supporters of Sultān Aḥmad away, liberated Tabrīz from Tūqtāmīsh, and restored order. Sultān Aḥmad sent Sūntāy to Tabrīz to resist 'Ādil, but he was driven back to Baghdād ⁷⁵.

'Ādil did not enjoy his powerful position for long. When Timūr advanced and conquered the fortress of Nihāwand, 'Ādil went there to meet him and for the pacification of his own area his troops were added to the army of Timūr. But one of 'Ādil's opponents, Muḥammad Sultānshāh, managed to arouse Timūr's anger, and 'Ādil was killed in September 1386 ⁷⁶.

After his campaign against Iṣfahān and Shīrāz in the following year, Timūr was compelled to go back to Samarqand owing to the invasion of Transoxania by Tūqtāmīsh. His son Mīrānshāh also left Tabrīz, and for a number of years the town was in the hands of several successive insurgents and conquerors. Sultān Aḥmad did

73) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 175 - 176; HA/Bayani p. 221 - 224; Mustaufī p. 722.
 74) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 176; HA/Bayani p. 224 - 228.
 75) HA/Bayani p. 231 - 239.
 76) HA/Bayani p. 240 - 242.

not play an important rôle in the events in this part of Persia in this period ⁷⁷.

In the summer of 1393 Mīrānshāh entered Sultāniyyah, and after Timūr had conquered Shīrāz, Isfahān and Hamadān, he entered Baghdād. Sultān Aḥmad fled, pursued by troops of Timūr. His son 'Alā' al-Daulah and some of his wives were taken prisoner and sent to Samarqand ⁷⁸. When Timūr turned northward to Russia and set out on his campaign to India in 1398, Aḥmad was able to return to Baghdād for a short time.

In September 1399, Timūr embarked on his "Seven Years' Campaign" in Western Asia. From the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd he requested in vain the extradition of Sultān Aḥmad and Qarā Yūsuf, the chief of the Qara-qoyunlu Turkomāns. Eastern Asia Minor was first conquered and from there Timūr turned to Syria and took Baghdād for the second time in June 1401, massacring the inhabitants of the town ⁷⁹.

When Timūr turned his attention once again to Asia Minor and fought the successful battle of Angora, where the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd was defeated and taken prisoner, and then continued his march, Sultān Aḥmad and Qarā Yūsuf fled to the sultān of Egypt who kept them both imprisoned till news arrived of Timūr's death, on February 18, 1405 ⁸⁰. They were released and returned to their former possessions. While in prison, they had agreed that after their return Qarā Yūsuf should have Tabrīz, and Sultān Aḥmad Baghdād. Though this clearly showed how strong the position of the Qara-qoyunlu chief had become, apparently Sultān Aḥmad still hoped to regain all his former territory. After arriving back in Baghdād, he set out for Tabrīz in the summer of 1406 and was welcomed by the population who soon realized, however, that the cruel Aḥmad had not learned very much during his exile. In these circumstances they welcomed the arrival in Tabrīz of Timūr's grandson Abū Bakr, by which Aḥmad was induced to go back to Baghdād ⁸¹.

After the death of Mīrānshāh, the son of Timūr, and the defeat of Abū Bakr by the Turkomāns (whereupon he fled to Kirmān), Qarā Yūsuf conquered Ādharbaijān and Arrān and placed his son Pīr Budāq on the throne. Sultān Aḥmad even accorded him recognition, and apparently the relations between Qarā Yūsuf and Aḥmad remained good, even after Qarā Yūsuf had imprisoned 'Alā al-Daulah, the son of Aḥmad, who had escaped from Samarqand. But when Qarā Yūsuf

77) HA/Bayani p. 242 - 255; Mustaufi p. 739.

78) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 64 - 66; HA/Bayani p. 255 - 256; Mustaufi p. 750 - 754.

79) Mīrkhwānd VI, p. 98 - 116; Browne III, p. 196 - 197.

80) Huart p. 322 - 323.

81) Huart p. 324 - 328.

was engaged in the siege of Erzinjan, Ahmad, seizing his opportunity, entered Tabriz on July 3, 1410. As soon as Qarā Yūsuf had conquered Erzinjan, however, he marched to Tabriz, and in the battle of August 29, 1410 Ahmad was defeated. He fled, but was taken prisoner and strangled after having been compelled to sign an agreement in which he ceded Baghdād to Shāh Muḥammad, the son of Qarā Yūsuf. Ahmad was buried in the 'Imārat-i Dimishqīyyah. He is described as cruel and ruthless, but at the same time as a good musician and painter ⁸².

Baghdād was defended against the Qara-qoyunlu's for about one year and a half by Shāh Walad, son of Ahmad's brother Shaikh 'Alī, and, after his death, by his wife Tandū. They had to give up resistance, however, and withdrew to Shūshtar. Uwais, the son and successor of Tandū, reigned for about six years and was killed in 1421. His brother Maḥmūd reigned for only two years and was succeeded by Ḥusain, a son of Ahmad's son 'Alā al-Daulah. He ruled over a large part of Arabian 'Irāq, with the exception of Baghdād, and when he was killed in 1432 after having been besieged for seven months in the fortress of Hillah by Isbahān ⁸³, a son of Qarā Yūsuf, the last vestiges of the power of the Īlkānī or Jalāyir dynasty had totally disappeared and had been replaced by the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty ⁸⁴.

Baghdād, which, since the conquest by Hūlāgū in 1258 and the murder of the caliph, had ceased to be a residence of the rulers of Western Asia and was in this respect replaced by Tabriz, again became, under the Jalāyirs, the capital and the seat of the government of the whole domain or of 'Irāq proper. It began to recover and became again, though to a lesser degree than in the glorious past, a centre of scholars and poets, and in this period many new buildings, especially schools, and several mosques, were erected, such as the Madrasah Marjān, the Madrasah al-'Aqūlī, the Mosque of Sirāj al-Din, the Mosque of Sayyid Sulṭān 'Alī etc. ⁸⁵.

T h e m a n u s c r i p t

This review of Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais is based on the only manuscript of this work still extant ⁸⁶, now preserved in the

82) Huart p. 330 - 340; EI s.v. Ahmad Jalair.

83) Hinz p. 127 - 128 calls him Aspān.

84) Huart p. 341 - 350.

85) IA III, p. 64, mad. Celāyir; 'Azzāwī II, passim and especially p. 337 - 338.

86) Storey II/2, p. 243.

University Library at Leiden ⁸⁷. The manuscript may be described briefly as follows.

It is bound in a brown leather cover with a flap, and a few of the pages at the end are loose. The size of the book is eight by eleven by one in. There are 184 pages, numbered in black pencil apparently in recent times. The size of the image of the pages is five by eight and a half in. Each page consists of nineteen lines of text, framed by two parallel red lines. These are also used, where necessary, to divide a page into several parts or to separate the names of kings, caliphs etc. from the rest of the page. These names of kings etc. are in large black characters, while the names of prophets, most dates and the indication "verse" are in smaller red characters. The name of Shaikh Uwais, together with matter closely concerning him, and also the formula "in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" are in gold. Some of the headings of the chapters on the Saljūqids and minor dynasties and a few of the indications "verse" are in green or blue.

A few pages which had been damaged on the margins have been restored. Judging by the whiteness of the paper used, this work was carried out at a later period, but still before some oriental hand had added remarks referring to the contents.

The manuscript is, unfortunately, in a rather defective state. Pages are missing not only at the end, but inside as well, although the whole book has been so neatly bound together that no suspicion would be aroused as to the numerous gaps which exist. They occur between pages 61 and 62, 85 and 86, 95 and 96, 99 and 100 and between 131 and 132. Estimating the number of lost pages from the length of the period not covered and the detail of the contents preceding and following the gaps, the first three only amount to a few pages, but the last two can be put at about forty or fifty pages each. So the original of *Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais* may be estimated as consisting of 290 or 300 pages of the present size and detail of contents.

The manuscript bears the mark of Levinus Warner and belonged to the "Legatum Warnerianum", the collection of oriental books and manuscripts bequeathed by him to the library of the University of Leiden in 1665.

I have not found any information concerning the age of the manuscript since the author has not provided us any indication of the date at which he finished his work ⁸⁸, nor has the copyist

87) Catalogus, vol. V, p. 228, no. 2634.

88) The author finishes his story on the last page of the manuscript with events which took place in the years 1358 and 1359. It may be that he finished his work in 1359 or shortly after, but it is also possible that he continued his record after having given the descent and birth of Shaikh Uwais. The duration of the reign of Shaikh Uwais, which has been given on p. 182 of the manuscript, appears to have been added in a different handwriting.

left any direct or indirect mark which would permit us to establish the exact period of his work. It has been written in a uniform hand ⁸⁹ and is quite legible.

The present manuscript is probably not the work of its author: if it were ⁹⁰, one would hardly encounter such evidence of a lack of knowledge on the geography of the surroundings of Ādharbaijān, the native area of the author, as, for instance, the spelling Kūj.h D.k.t.r ⁹¹, for Lake Gökcheh (Gökchen Tengīz) in the Southern Caucasus. There are, indeed, several instances which prove that the copyist must have done his work rather carelessly: apart from inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names (for example Sūkā and Sūkāy, Mūqān and Mūghān) which are not particularly uncommon and may have occurred in the original, he left sentences unfinished or mixed up parts of them in several places ⁹², and in the concluding pages he has failed to fill in various dates and place names, which apparently should have been written in coloured ink. The profuse vowel-signs seem to have been added by a later hand.

Throughout the manuscript ب stands for ب and پ, ج for ج and چ, ک for ک and گ. Sometimes f is used for the more usual p and b, and the reverse, as in sufahsālār for sipāhsālār, and often in names, such as Pārs for Fārs, Findiqdār for Bunduqdār etc.

As to the orthography of Mongolian names in the last part, the author nearly always uses the contracted forms, gh or q between vowels being elided, e.g. Sūrlūq for Sūghūrlūq. The spelling of many names not only varies in the manuscript itself, as already indicated above, but often differs from the spelling in other sources, as for instance Gardamūn, the steppe and river in the Caucasus, written by Rashīd al-Dīn Kardamān.

As a standardized system for transliterating Mongolian and Turkish names is still wanting and a reliable work of reference on their etymology is not available, a consistent rendering of all names in their Mongolian and Turkish form appeared impossible. I have, therefore, preferred a mechanical transliteration for which I sometimes made use of other sources in Persian or of Western works of reference. Several generally adopted names in

89) The marginal additions and part of p. 165 seem to be in a different hand.

90) I am not qualified to estimate the age of the manuscript on the basis of the script or the quality of the paper.

91) MS p. 150.

92) In some places it would appear that either the author or the copyist was not completely master of the Persian language or that the copyist did not always understand the text.

their Mongolian and Turkish forms have been inserted in the list of personal names and may be helpful in finding the equivalent in the Persian text and in the translation.

For the sake of lucidity, a proper name or a few words have been added in brackets in some places, but on the whole, even at the expense of style, the English translation has been kept as literal as possible. For this I crave the reader's indulgence.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF P. 1-134

The author begins with a eulogy on Sulṭān Shāhīh Uways to whom he dedicates his work with a long qasīdah (p.1-6). In his introduction he states that mankind can be divided into two parts, viz. the part before the Deluge (of which virtually nothing is known, although Ṭabarī and the *Qāṣṣah* dwell on it) and that after it (p.7). Historians divide the history of the dynasties into two categories (*qisf*), the first is that of the time of ignorance (*pre-Islām*), comprising four classes (*ṭabaqā*): 1. the *Ṭighṭhiyān*, 2. the *Kayūmīyān*, 3. the *Ashkāmīyān*, 4. the *Ḥakīmīyān*; the second is that of *Islām*, containing five classes: 1. the time of the Prophet and his companions, 2. the *Umayyads*, 3. the *Marwīds*, 4. the *Abbāds*, 5. the *Mongols*.

The first category: the period before *Islām*.

The first class: the *Ṭighṭhiyān*.

The first of these is sometimes considered to have been *Kayūmār*, and at other times he is identified as *Ādam*. After the death of *Ādam*, *Shīth* answered the call of prophecy (p.8). He was succeeded by *Arṣh*. Idolatry was practised during his time. In order to help stop this, God sent him an angel (p.9) who taught him the incantations which *Arṣh* noted down and taught to mankind in order that they might give up idolatry. Meanwhile, men departed in all directions. Among the more outstanding successors to *Arṣh* were *Idrīs*, a very learned man, and *Nūḥ* (p.10). One of the descendants of the latter, *Kayūmār*, was the first king, "the second *Ādam*". He was succeeded by *Ḥayyūq* who paid much attention to the cultivation of the earth (p.11). Then came his son *Tahār*, the creator of the Persian alphabet of 24 letters and founder of several towns, such as *Ḥayyūq* and *Shāhtar*. He was succeeded by his brother *Joṣṭīd*. Since people living in remote areas refused to pay taxes, he tamed horses, made swords and organised an army which he sent to the distant corners of the world (p.12). He had a mirror showing all that happened on earth: he gave to each class of the population its own place in society, organized the acquisition of precious materials and instituted New-Year's day. He was killed by *Qayḥk*. *Nūḥ* lived during this period (p.14). Story of *Nūḥ* and his ark (p.15). Among the sons and descendants of *Nūḥ*, the confusion of tongues came into being and they dispersed, first the seven sons of *Yāfith*, then the seven sons of *Ḥām*. The seven sons of *Ḥām* remained in *Shām*, but later spread over Asia (p.16).

Reference to *Sālih* and his she-camel. King *Daḥḥāk* was asked by the devil, in reward for a fine meal he had prepared for him, (p.17) to uncover his shoulders. After the devil had kissed his shoulders, two snakes appeared. When *Daḥḥāk* cried for help, people came in and saved him. Again the devil appeared, this time in the form of an old man, promising to cure *Daḥḥāk* on condition that two men should be killed every day and their brains given to the snakes. One day, one of the two men was allowed to escape and came to *Iṣ-fahān*. The blacksmith *Kāwah*, having lost his two sons to the snakes of *Daḥḥāk*, summoned the population to fight against *Daḥḥāk*. Having refused to become king himself, because of his low birth, *Kāwah* installed *Farīdūn*, a descendant of *Jamshīd*, on the throne and helped him to defeat and kill *Daḥḥāk* near Mount *Damāwand*. *Farīdūn* was the first king to be called "kay" (p.19). He redressed the injustice done by *Daḥḥāk*. During his time the prophet *Ḥanẓalah* bin *Ṣafwān* appeared, and also *Ibrāhīm* (who built the Ka'bah), *Is-mā'īl*, *Ishāq*, *Isrā'īl* (p.20), *Yūsuf* and *Ayyūb*. *Farīdūn* divided the world among his three sons *Salm* (who received the West and *Rūm*), *Tūr* (who was given China and Turkestan) and *Īraj* (who was present-ed with *'Irāq*, *Ādharbaijān* and *Hindūstān*). *Salm* and *Tūr* killed *Īraj* and the enmity between Persians and Turanians dates from that time. *Minūchihr* avenged *Īraj* (p.21). He appointed a *dihqān* for every village and fortified towns and villages. *Mūsā* bin *Masha* and *Shu-'aib* were prophets at this time (p.22) and *Mūsā* bin *'Amrān* and *Hā-rūn* fought against the pharaoh. *Afrāsiyāb*, a descendant of *Tūr*, expelled *Minūchihr* (p.23) and destroyed *'Irāq* and *Īrān*, but in his turn was driven away by a descendant of *Minūchihr*, viz. *Zūtahmāsp*, who was succeeded by *Karshāsp*, also called *Shaddād*, the founder of the garden, who continued to fight against *Afrāsiyāb*.

The second class: *the Kayānians* (p.24).

Kaikubād (called *Wālid al Mulūk* by the Arabs) made *Balkh* his capital and fought continually against *Afrāsiyāb*. Several prophets lived during his time: *Kālib*, *Ḥarqīl*, during whose time the Jews were smitten by the plague, *Ilyās* (p.25), *Ilīsa'*, *Yūnas* and *Ish-mū'īl* during whose time the status of king was instituted among the Jews. *Tālūt* fought against *Jālūt* and was succeeded by *Dā'ūd* (p.26). *Luqmān* the Wise lived at this time.

Kaikubād was succeeded by *Kaikā'ūs*, who had two sons, *Siyāwush* and *Farāmarz*. He sent *Siyāwush* with an army against *Afrāsiyāb*, but *Siyāwush* concluded peace with him and obtained his daughter (p.27). The relatives and followers of *Afrāsiyāb* succeeded in sowing discord among the troops of *Siyāwush* and tried to induce *Afrāsiyāb* to kill him. When *Kaikā'ūs* learned this, he handed over the govern-

ment to others and went to war, but on his way to Yaman he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was liberated finally by the help of Rustam who received Sīstān and Kabulistān as a reward. Dā'ūd died at this time and was succeeded by Sulaimān (p.28) who married Bilqīs, the daughter of Hadkād, king of Yaman (p.29). Siyāwush and Farangīs, the daughter of Afrāsiyāb, had a son, Kaikhusrāu. Kaikā'ūs had him brought to his court together with his mother and made him his successor. Kaikhusrāu recommenced the war against Afrāsiyāb and defeated and killed him, as may be read in the Shāhnāmāh of Firdausī (p.30). After having subdued the whole world, he retired from government against the wishes of his relatives and officials and made his nephew Luhrāsp his successor. He lived in Balkh (p.31) and was the first king to have a dīwān. After a reign of a hundred and twenty years, during which time the prophets Sha'īnā, Armiyā, 'Azīz and Dāniyāl appeared, God made Luhrāsp send an army against the Jews to punish them for their bad treatment of Sha'īnā and Armiyā. Jerusalem was destroyed and its population carried to 'Irāq.

Luhrāsp was succeeded by Gushtāsp. During his time Zardasht, a man of the region of Marāghah, appeared (p.32). Asfandiyār, successor of Gushtāsp, was a righteous ruler, made conquests in east and west and had a commander Kīrish (p.33) who gave the Jews more freedom of movement. Under his son, Kīrish, the Jews rebuilt Jerusalem. Dāniyāl stayed behind in 'Irāq and was buried in Shūshtar.

Bahman had a son, Sāsān, and a daughter, Khamānī. To ensure the succession of her as yet unborn son, Khamānī managed to make herself appointed heiress to the throne. Sāsān retired and Khamānī became queen (p.34). She surpassed the men in courage and power and undertook a successful expedition against Rūm and transferred the throne from Balkh to Bābal. After six years she gave the kingdom to her son Dārā who organised a system of quick communication by means of mules. His son Dārā succeeded him (p.35). His policy induced the emirs to call in the aid of Iskandar. By means of a trick Iskandar managed to sow discord among the troops of Dārā (p.36). Dārā was betrayed and killed by two of his own men. Iskandar married Rūshank, the daughter of Dārā, and became king of Persia. Having conquered Persia, Iskandar wrote a letter to his teacher Arastātālīs, describing the corporal and spiritual excellencies of the Persians and asking for his advice. Arastātālīs advised him not to exasperate and kill the Persians (p.37) and to give each of the Persian princes sovereignty over equal districts. So Iskandar divided 'Irāq and Īrān among ninety prin-

cos. He destroyed the fire-temples and fortresses, founded several towns and marched to India and China. On his return, he died in 227. His son refused to succeed him. The population of Rūm paid homage to Sallamīyūs, who was succeeded by twelve namesakes from his own family (p. 38).

The third class: the *Ashkānians*.

They were descended from Dārū and were recognized by the local Persian princes as their superiors. The first of them was *Ushk*. During his time, Antījash conquered Syria but was defeated near Wuzil, and after that the Ashkānians controlled the area between Isfahān and Wuzil. He lived in Tīsūfūn (p. 39). His son *Ushk* succeeded him and during his time Zakariyā appeared among the Jews and was persecuted by them. After *Ushk*, *Shābūr* reigned, in whose time lived [?] al-Kifl and Yahyā. During the government of his successor Bahrām (p. 40), 'Isā performed many miracles. After his death his twelve apostles continued his work and propagated his doctrines. After the murder of Yahyā, Bahrām took action against the Jews and dispersed them and the Jews lost the prophecy. After Bahrām came the reigns of Wījan, Gōdarz (p. 41), Narsī, Hurmuzān, Fīrūz, Shapur, Sālās and Ardawān, the last and greatest of the Ashkānians (p. 42).

The fourth class: the *Sāsānians*.

Ardawān became proud and ambitious and made an alliance with Shāh, one of the local Persian kings, to conquer the world. Ardashīr, the grandson of Sāsān, had similar plans. In the ensuing struggle, Ardashīr managed to bring Bābā over to his side and Ardawān was killed. Power remained in the hands of Ardashīr and his descendants (p. 43) until the time of 'Umar. Ardashīr Bābakān was called Shāhshāh. He summoned his subordinate kings to help him conquer the world. He revived the country, founded many new towns and had the holy books, which had been destroyed by order of Iskander, rewritten (p. 44). His son *Shābūr* succeeded him. He conquered Tarrān and Bagīn, after a long siege and a bombardment with scorpions, and besieged Constantinople. He, too, founded several towns and drafted the rules of the board-play. Mānī came on the scene during his time. After *Shābūr* came the reign of Shāhshāh (p. 45), who fought against Hailāl and settled the frontier. He was succeeded by Bahrām, during whose time Mānī again appeared and tried, without success, to win Bahrām over to his cause. He was hanged in Isfahān. The son of Bahrām, also called Bahrām,

was a tyrannical king and was succeeded by his namesake *Bahrām* (p.46) who was a passionate hunter.

His grandson *Hurmuz*, who had his own wife murdered, was succeeded by *Dhū al-Aktāf*. He was not yet born when *Hurmuz* died but was still crowned king (p.47). After his birth he was given the name *Shābūr*. Officials and grandees took advantage of his extreme youth to make themselves very powerful and the frontier regions suffered greatly from the Arabs. When *Shābūr* was sixteen and saw all this, he summoned his emirs and soldiers and marched with a thousand select horsemen against the Arabian frontier areas, killing many Arabs and taking many more prisoner (p.48) without taking booty, in order to show them that his only purpose was to be revenged. Then, although his emirs had dissuaded him, he went incognito to *Rūm* to reconnoitre that country. When the emperor visited that area and invited the poor for a meal, *Shābūr* joined them but was recognized and locked up. They took him with the army of the emperor to *Īrān* and *‘Irāq*. One night, during the siege of *Jundāsābūr* (p.49), he managed to escape and entered the besieged town. Under his leadership the besieged army made a sortie, defeated the *Rūmī*'s, and took the emperor prisoner. *Shābūr* did not kill him but kept him prisoner until he agreed to redress the damage he had done. Then they marched to *Rūm* and reaped great destruction there. Thereupon, *Shābūr* started the reconstruction of his country and founded several towns (p.50).

Due to the extreme youth of *Shābūr*, his son, he was succeeded by his brother *Ardashīr*, but he was deposed because he persecuted the scholars and grandees and young *Shābūr* became king. He was killed by a tent-pole which fell on him during his sleep and was succeeded by his brother *Bahrām*, who had as his successor his son *Yazdagird* (p.51). His name is not given in the *Shāhnāmah*, but it is said that, during his illness, the king of *Rūm* sent somebody to *Yazdagird* to ask for someone who could act as regent for his young son. *Yazdagird* sent *Shīrīn*, whom he called back when he had finished his regency. *Yazdagird* was succeeded by *Yazdagird Bāzargār*, a tyrant (p.52), who was killed by the kick of a horse which appeared and disappeared in a mysterious way. He had trusted his son *Bahrām* to *Nu‘mān bin Mundhīr* who gave him a good education. After the death of his father, the emirs and army-commanders resolved to appoint as king, *Khusrau*, a descendant of *Ardashīr*. *Bahrām* went with *Nu‘mān* to *‘Irāq* and tried to convince the population of his aversion to the crimes of his father and his hopes to become king in order to redress those injustices (p.53). When several were still against him, he offered to fetch the crown

from between two lions. When he managed to do this and had killed both lions, he was crowned. *Bahrāmgūr* (p.54), having become king, kept his promises. But later he started to lead a life of pleasure and this gave the governors a chance to become more powerful. The *khāqān* of *Khurāsān* advanced with a large army. In order to avoid the devastation of warfare, *Bahrāmgūr* retreated to *Ādhar-baijān* and managed to defeat and kill the *khāqān* there. Thereupon he conquered *Khurāsān* and *Hindūstān* and married the daughter of the king of *Hindūstān* (p.55). On returning to his country, he sent his brother *Narsī* to *Khurāsān* and the son of *Narsī* to *Rūm*. During his reign *Īrān* was very prosperous and singers came from India to *Īrān* (*lūlī*'s). The king was drowned while hunting and was succeeded by his son *Yazdagird* (p.56) who continued the good policy of his father.

After his death, his two sons *Hurmuz* and *Fīrūz* fought for the kingship. *Hurmuz* being killed, *Fīrūz* became king. A seven year drought occurred, but thanks to the wise and strong measures of *Fīrūz*, nobody died of starvation. Then *Fīrūz* brought new prosperity to his country and founded several towns. He was killed near *Balkh* in a battle against the *Haitāls*. In the fighting between his two sons *Balāsh* and *Qubād*, the latter fled to *Khurāsān* in search of help, and *Balāsh* (p.57) became king. He was drowned in the *Jaiḥūn* while marching against *Khurāsān*. When *Qubād* learned of this he returned and ascended the throne. It was during his time that *Mazdak* arose, preaching the equality of all creatures and calling himself a prophet (p.58). He found many adherents among the poor. *Qubād* was unable to cope with him, was replaced by his brother *Jamāsp*, and went himself for help to the king of the *Haitāls* in *Khurāsān*. After *Mazdak* and his adherents had been defeated and killed, *Qubād* returned and ascended the throne once again. He was succeeded by his son *Anūshirwān 'Ādil*, a clever and powerful ruler, who conquered *Antākiyyah* and *Iskandariyyah* and then marched against the king of the *Haitāls*, whom he killed in *Khurāsān*.

Meanwhile, the king of Abyssinia, *Masrūq*, had invaded *Yaman*, but *Anūshirwān* defeated and killed him (p.59). He also killed the leaders of the *Mazdakī*'s and restored all plundered property to its rightful owners. During his time the Prophet *Muḥammed* was born (p.60), according to some references in the year of the elephant, when *Abraham* tried to destroy the *Ka'bah*. On the night of his birth, numerous signs were manifest, indicating the fall of the Persian empire. Asking for the meaning of these signs,

Anūshirwān was told that yet another fourteen members of the Sāsānian dynasty would reign. Seven years after the birth of Muḥammad, Anūshirwān died (p.61) and was succeeded by *Hurmuz*, who was an enemy of the grandees, mūbads and scholars, because of his Turkish blood. The Ka'bah was built during his time (p.62) (gap of a few pages).

The second category: the period of Islām.

It comprises five classes: 1. the orthodox caliphs; 2. the Umayyads; 3. the Marwānids; 4. the 'Abbāsids; 5. the Mongols.

First class: *the orthodox caliphs*.

Abū Bakr (p.63) had many difficulties with the Arabs who, after the death of Muḥammad, revolted under the leadership of Musailamah, Aswad bin Ka'b and Tulaiḥah. Khālīd bin al-Walīd defeated them. Musailamah fled to Yamāmah and formed an alliance with the prophetess Sajāḥ (p.64), but her adherents submitted to Abū Bakr, who sent Khālīd to verify the sincerity of their submission. Later, complaints, backed by 'Umar, reached Abū Bakr about Khālīd (p.65) who was, however, found innocent. Musailamah and Aswad bin Ka'b were killed (p.66) and Tulaiḥah became Muslim, together with several Arabian tribes. In the year 12 (h.) Abū Bakr sent Khālīd to 'Irāq and Persia. The next year Muthannā bin al-Ḥārithah of Kūfah became Muslim and asked Abū Bakr to hand Kūfah over to him. Abū Bakr sent Khālīd with him to Baṣrah and stated that Khālīd would receive Persia. Khālīd proposed that Hurmuzān, the Persian commander, should either pay the jizyah or become Muslim (p.67). In the duel between the two commanders, Khālīd gained the victory and the Persians fled. Abū Bakr sent a force to conquer Syria, still in the hands of Harqīl, king of Rūm. At the instigation of 'Umar, Khālīd was sent, accompanied by Mu'āwiyah, to Syria, thus losing the chance to conquer Persia, and he fought the battle at the Yarmuk. Abū Bakr fell ill (p.68) and died.

'Umar became the second caliph. He dismissed Khālīd, who retired for the duration of the reign of 'Umar, with the result that the Persians segregated themselves again. 'Umar was the first to receive the title amīr al-mu'minīn (p.69). Muthannā and Abū 'Ubaidah al-Thaqafī went to 'Irāq and subdued the 'Irāqī's who were incited by Rustam bin Fawwah Hurmuz. Then Rustam sent Jānān against Muthannā and Abū 'Ubaidah, but the Persians were defeated and Jānān was taken prisoner. This time Rustam himself

marched against the Arabs and the armies drew up on both sides of the Euphrates (p.70). Abū 'Ubaidah crossed the river with his horsemen, but the elephants of Rustam frightened the horses and Abū 'Ubaidah was killed, the Arabs were defeated, and many of them drowned in the river. 'Umar sent Jarīr bin 'Abd Allāh al-Nahlī to help Muthannā (p.71). On the order of 'Umar, a mission of Arabs went to Yazdagird and gave him the choice of either accepting Islām or paying the jizyah (p.72). Yazdagird sent them back and in the year 19 the battle of Qādisiyyah took place between Sa'd bin Abū Waqqāṣ, Jarīr, Muthannā and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī on one side, and Rustam, Hurmuz and Fīrūzān on the other. After three days fighting, the Persians were routed (p.73), Fīrūzān and Hurmuz fled, and Rustam was killed by Halāl. The death of Rustam meant the final defeat of the Persians, who fled, pursued by the Arabs who seized a considerable amount of booty. During the reign of 'Umar the army fought one year against the Persians and one year against the Rūmī's under Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh and others. Hims capitulated (p.74) and Khālīd conquered Qaiṣariyyah, etc.

After Qādisiyyah, the Arabs conquered Madā'in, after which the population accepted the jizyah (p.75). In the same year, the battle of Nahāwand took place. The Arabs were led by Nu'mān bin Muqarran, the Persians by Fīrūzān. Nu'mān was killed but the Arabs kept his death secret until they had defeated the Persians. Fīrūzān was killed in flight. The Arabs seized much booty and the amīr al-mu'minīn had the captured jewels sold and the money distributed among the soldiers. The Arabs continued their conquests in Persia (p.76) and Yazdagird went to Khurāsān for help. In the year 21, the Arabs conquered Tūs, Nīsābūr and great parts of Khurāsān, beating off attacks by the Haitāls and the khāqān of the Turks and driving Yazdagird across the Jaiḥūn (p.77). The Persians tried to persuade Yazdagird to make peace with the religious Arabs but he refused and settled down in Farghānah till the time of 'Uthmān. The population submitted to the Arabs and surrendered the treasury of Yazdagird (p.78).

In the year 23 'Umar was wounded, died after several days (p.79), and was buried near Muḥammad. 'Uthmān succeeded in 24. He conquered Rayy, and subsequently Iskandariyyah, Afrīqiyyah and the greater part of Persia (p.80). In 31 Yazdagird came back to Marw. Tīrak Tarkhān asked him for his daughter in marriage. Yazdagird refused and was compelled to flee while his army was beaten. He took refuge in a watermill and was killed by the miller. So ended the dynasty of the Sāsānians in 31.

'Uthmān's favouritism in respect of some persons (p.81) and discrimination against others, caused discontent and finally, his end (p.82). 'Alī became caliph, Ṭalḥah was the first to recognize him, but later he joined 'Ā'ishah and Zubair who resolved to revenge 'Uthmān. Ṭalḥah and Zubair were defeated and killed by 'Alī (p.83), whereas 'Ā'ishah was sent back to Madīnah. 'Alī went to Baṣrah and liberated the imprisoned governor 'Uthmān bin Ḥanīf. Contrary to the advice of 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abbās, 'Alī dismissed the powerful Mu'āwiyah who was in Syria. The latter did not accept his dismissal and the armies of both sides drew up near Ṣiffīn, but 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah accepted the arbitration of Abū Mūsā (p.84). A little later, in 39, 'Alī was killed in the mosque of Kūfah. Ḥasan succeeded as caliph. Mu'āwiyah, hearing this, marched against Ḥasan and defeated him in Kūfah. Ḥasan abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiyah and went to Madīnah.

Second class: *the Umayyads.*

Mu'āwiyah (p.85) succeeded Ḥasan who was poisoned in 47 by his wife. He appointed his son Yazīd as successor and advised him how to deal with possible opponents like Ḥusain and 'Amr bin 'Āṣ (gap of several pages).

(p.86). 'Abd al-Malik conquered 'Irāq. In 63 he sent Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf to fight against 'Abd Allāh bin Zubair. Hearing of his atrocities in Madīnah, 'Abd al-Malik called him back and later put him in charge of 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Transoxania, while Mūsā was in charge of the western countries. 'Abd al-Malik died in 86 (p.87) and was succeeded by Walīd. During his time Samargand and Bukhārā were conquered. Walīd was succeeded in 96 by his brother Sulaimān. Parts of Rūm were conquered during his reign (p.88) and many prisoners were taken, but Sulaimān redressed the injustice and set the prisoners free. In 97 he appointed Yazīd bin al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān. After the death of Sulaimān, 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz ascended the throne (p.89). His conduct was straight-forward and he was pious, following 'Umar's way of life. He dismissed unjust taxgatherers and sent food to famine-stricken kūm. After his death, Yazīd bin 'Abd al-Malik became caliph in 101 (p.90). He sent taxgatherers to collect the arrears. So Muslim bin 'Abd al-Malik was sent to Khurāsān, but he rebelled and invited 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abbās to accept the caliphate. Yazīd died in 105 and was succeeded by his brother Ḥishām (p.91) who died in 125 and had a successor Walīd bin Yazīd, a drunkard who led an immoral life and adhered to the doctrine of metempsychosis (p.92). He set free Yahyā, who had been imprisoned

under his predecessor. Yaḥyā went to Khurāsān and rebelled there but was finally killed. When Walīd went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, his son Yazīd rebelled (p.93), seized the treasury of Damascus and killed his father between that town and Ḥimṣ. Yazīd was succeeded, after reigning seventy days, by his brother Ibrāhīm, a weakling who reigned fifty days. Marwān bin Muḥammad rebelled against him and Ibrāhīm was forced to recognize Marwān as caliph (p.94). Nasr bin Sayyār became governor of Khurāsān but met with strong opposition. He kept the upper hand till 129 when Abū Muslim began his conquest of Khurāsān. Nasr was beaten and died at Sāwah in 130 (p.95). After staying ten months in Nīsābūr, Abū Muslim assembled an army and laid siege to Kūfah.

Fourth class: *the 'Abbāsids.*

Genealogy of the first 'Abbāsīd. (gap of a number of pages). (p.96). For several reasons the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had taken a dislike to the Barmakids Yaḥyā and Ja'far. This led to the final overthrow and extermination of the Barmakid family in 176 (p.97). In 177, Zubaidah Khātūn founded Tabrīz. In Khurāsān, Rafī' bin Laith rebelled against 'Alī bin 'Isā and acquired many adherents because of the oppression of 'Alī. Hārūn al-Rashīd, accompanied by Ma'mūn, marched to Khurāsān. He ordered the arrest of Rafī' who fled to Samarqand (p.98) and defeated the son of 'Alī, who had been sent against him. Hārūn al-Rashīd marched against him, but fell ill near Nīsābūr. He had appointed Amīn as heir to the caliphate and had given Khurāsān to Ma'mūn (p.99). Discord arose between the two and Amīn was persuaded to call Ma'mūn back from Khurāsān. When Ma'mūn refused, Amīn sent troops to Khurāsān but they were defeated near Rayy by Ṭāhir bin Ḥusain, the commander of Ma'mūn, who now marched to Baghdād. The troops of Amīn were once more defeated and he himself was captured and killed in 198. (gap of a number of pages).

(p.100). Government of Maḥmūd Ghāzī. He reigned thirty two years. Bahā' al-Daulah, of the Būyid family, died in 403 and was buried in Kūfah. Sulṭān al-Daulah Abū Shujā', his successor, made his brother Musharrif al-Daulah Abū 'Alī, governor of Baghdad (p.101). Helped by the Turks, he rebelled against his brother, whose name he replaced in the Friday sermon by his own. Majd al-Daulah conquered Kūhistān and 'Irāq. Sulṭān Maḥmūd brought great parts of Sījistān, Khurāsān and Hindūstān under his power (p.102) and seized huge quantities of booty. As to the Būyids, Sulṭān al-Daulah died in Shīrāz, Musharrif al-Daulah ascended the throne in 412 and died in 416. Jalāl al-Daulah Abū Ṭāhir was

governor of Baṣrah, and, after his brother, of Baghdād as well. He conquered Maṣīl and Diyārbakr and his reign lasted for nineteen years (p.103).

Sultān Maḥmūd resolved to march against 'Irāq in 420. He left behind his son Muḥammad, who was well versed in religion and adab, and took along his other son, the courageous Mas'ūd. They marched to Rayy and took Majd al-Daulah and a great many Dailamites prisoner in 421 (p.104), sending them to Khurāsān. Maḥmūd built a castle in Rayy and put Mas'ūd in charge of Rayy, Qazwīn, Zangān and Kūhistān. Mas'ūd went to Nīsābūr and Tūs and sent one of his commanders to Qazwīn, Zangān and Abhar. During the night the population of Qazwīn made a sally on the troops of Mas'ūd who took revenge, killing many of them and imprisoning their leader Ibrāhīm Lankar. Then he conquered Hamadān and Iṣfahān (p.105), massacring the inhabitants of the lastnamed town because of their rebellion. He remained in Rayy till the death of his father. Then he marched to Ghaznah, imprisoned and blinded his brother Muḥammad and ascended the throne.

The reign of *Mas'ūd bin Maḥmūd* lasted for twelve years, during which he spent the time in play and pleasure. The caliph Qādir died in 422 and was succeeded by his son Qā'im who reigned forty-four years and had as emir of Baghdād the Būyid Jalāl al-Daulah.

As to the Saljūqs (p.106), they began to rise during his time. They lived in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā and their leader was Mūsā Beghū bin Saljūq. When Maḥmūd crossed the Jaiḥūn in 419, he took Beghū back with him and imprisoned him in the fortress of Kāshgar where he died, after vain attempts on the part of Jaghrī Bek and Tughrul Bek to obtain his release (p.107). In 428, the Saljūqs started their conquests. They crossed the Jaiḥūn and asked Sūrī, the emir of Khurāsān, for permission to settle down in his area. Sūrī informed Sultān Mas'ūd of the situation, and the latter came to Nīsābūr, but was finally defeated by the Saljūqs who were by this time firmly established in Khurāsān. Sūrī was once again defeated and went to Ghūr. Tughrul went to Nīsābūr and from there to Tūs (p.108). Mas'ūd tried in vain to intercept, but his troops were beaten in the desert between Marw and Sarakhs, Mas'ūd barely managing to escape himself. After this victory Jaghrī, Tughrul and the other leaders concluded an agreement of mutual assistance and sent a letter to the caliph (p.109). Jaghrī Bek made Marw his residence and took Khurāsān; Isrā'īl took Herāt and Sīstān; Qāward took Kirmān and Tughrul Bek went to 'Irāq. Tughrul sent Ibrāhīm Yanāl to Hamadān, Yāqūtī to Abhar, Zangān

and Ādharbāijān, and Qutlumish to Dānghān. In 435 the Būyid Jalāl al-Daulah Abū Tūhir died and was succeeded by Abū Kālījār who reigned for four years (p.110).

With regard to the dynasty of Subuktigīn, Sultān Mas'ūd, on a campaign to Hindūstān, was taken prisoner by his rebelling troops, who swore allegiance to Muhammad, his brother. Mas'ūd was killed in 432, but his son Mawūd took revenge by killing Muhammad and capturing Ghaznah. In 437 Tughrul Bek marched against Baghdād. The caliph trusted him with the government and had his name used in the Friday-sermon and on the coins. Tughrul Bek (p.111) reigned for eighteen years. Fighting took place, between him and Abū Kālījār but they finally came to an agreement and Abū Kālījār gave his daughter to Tughrul. When Jaghri Bek conquered Hīrah, Mawūd marched against him but fell ill on the way and died. His brother Abū Maṣṣūr succeeded him (p.112). Meanwhile, Basārīrī rebelled in Maugil and, helped by money from Egypt, gave battle against Qutlumish near Sanjar and was later driven to Syria by Tughrul. When Tughrul retreated, however, Basārīrī managed to establish his rule in Baghdād for one year (p.113). Then Tughrul marched to Irāq, took him prisoner and killed him; further strengthening his own power by imprisoning al-Malik al-Raḥīm in 447, thus bringing the supremacy of the Būyids to an end (p.114).

Tughrul died in 455 and was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslān. His cousin Qutlumish rebelled against him but was defeated and killed in a battle near Rayy in 456. Having Irāq, Khurāsān and Ādharbāijān under his command, Alp Arslān set out for Armenia. He replaced the vizier Abū Naṣr by Niḡām al-Mulk and fought against Armānūs, the king of Rūm (p.115), whom he took prisoner and then released on condition that he paid a tribute. At the instigation of Niḡām al-Mulk, Abū Naṣr was executed at Nasā. Alp Arslān subdued Rūm and Syria and plundered the region of Abkhāz in 459. Then he marched to Transoxania where he was stabbed to death by a prisoner, Yūaif (p.116).

Of his seven sons, Malikshāh succeeded him, retaining Niḡām al-Mulk as vizier. He reigned twenty years. He defeated and poisoned Qāward bin Jaghri Bek who was in Kirmān (p.117). The caliph Qā'im was succeeded by his grandson Muqtadī who reigned for nineteen years. He introduced the new calendar of Malikshāh. Malikshāh made Iṣfahān his residence (p.118) and built a palace there. In 475, he went to Samarqand and there displayed his love of justice. In 479, he conquered Damascus and Halab and advanced as far as Constantinople. In 481 he went eastward. (p.119) Kāshgar

was conquered and the king of Turkestan asked for peace. Malikshāh appointed several of his relatives in the subdued areas and abolished the levying of taxes from pilgrims at Makkah. In 485 he was stabbed and died in Baghdād. His son Maḥmūd succeeded him but died of small-pox shortly afterwards (p.120).

His brother Barkiyārīq was the successor. He defeated both the rebellious Tutush bin Alp Arslān, near Rayy, and Muḥammad bin Malikshāh, who had ascended the throne in Baghdād. The caliph al-Muqtadī died in 487 and was succeeded by al-Mustazhir (p.121). When Barkiyārīq fell ill, Sanjar came from Khurāsān and went together with Muḥammad to Baghdād. Barkiyārīq agreed to leave Syria, Rūm and Diyārbakr to Muḥammad.

After the death of Barkiyārīq, in 498, his son Malikshāh succeeded him but was defeated and blinded by Muḥammad bin Malikshāh. He had to fight against several heretics, such as Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Malik 'Aṭṭāsh, whom he besieged in the fortress of Dizkūh and who had been assisted by the vizier of Muḥammad, Sa'd al-Mulk. The latter tried to kill Muḥammad by having his bleeding-lancet poisoned (p.122). The attempt failed and the vizier was killed. Aḥmad was betrayed and executed in Iṣfahān. Muḥammad also besieged Alamūt for two years. He died in 511. His son Maḥmūd was beaten by Sanjar and went to Iṣfahān.

Sanjar settled down in Hamadān and ascended the throne there (p.123). The caliph al-Mustazhir died in 512 and was succeeded by his son al-Mustarshid who reigned for seventeen years. The reign of Sanjar lasted for forty-one years. He extended his power in Khurāsān and made Maḥmūd ruler of 'Irāq and Ādharbaijān. Maḥmūd was king for fourteen years, and he married Māh-i Mulk, a daughter of Sanjar (p.124). Mas'ūd, the brother of Maḥmūd, rebelled in Syria but was defeated in 514.

Maḥmūd died in 525 and was succeeded by his son Dā'ūd who was in Tabrīz and who reigned for thirteen years. Sanjar came once again from Khurāsān to 'Irāq (p.125). His army-commander Tughrul bin Muḥammad defeated his opponents in 526 and Sanjar went back to Khurāsān. He gave Kūhistān and 'Irāq to Tughrul, whereas Dā'ūd resided in Tabrīz. Tughrul reigned for three years. In Hamadān he defeated Dā'ūd, who tried to reconquer 'Irāq, and pursued him as far as Adharbaijān. Then Dā'ūd allied himself with Mas'ūd and they defeated the army of Tughrul, pursuing him until his death in 529 (p.126).

Mas'ūd ascended the throne and reigned for eighteen years. The caliph al-Mustarshid resisted him but was defeated and finally killed. His son al-Rashīd became caliph (p.127). After a reign of two years he was succeeded by al-Muqtafi, who reigned for twenty four years. Helped by Mankūbruz of Fārs and Buzābah of Khūzistān, 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Tughrul rebelled against Mas'ūd, but they were beaten in Hamadān and so was Sultān Dā'ūd, who was murdered in 538 (p.128). Buzābah once more gave battle against Mas'ūd but was defeated and killed. Mas'ūd marched to Ādharbaijān and, having taken Māraghah, went to Baghdād, where he died in 547.

His nephew *Malikshāh* succeeded him, but, due to the fact that he was kept under constant control, he had no influence and, after a few months, fled to Khurāsān (p.129). His brother *Muhammad bin Mahmūd*, pushing aside his weak uncle Sulaimānshāh, ascended the throne and reigned for seven years.

As for the Ghaznawids, Farrukhzād bin Mas'ūd, the successor of 'Abd al-Rashīd, died in 449 and Abū al-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd, who had been in prison until then, was instated on the throne and reigned for thirty-eight years. Under the reign of his son Mas'ūd, Sūrī bin Husain of Ghūr conquered Ghaznah, and Bahrāmshah, the son of Mahmūd, appealed to Sultān Sanjar for help. In exchange for a tribute Sanjar helped him to reconquer Ghaznah (p.130). Having suppressed the rebellion of Ahmad Khān as well, Sanjar appropriated many of his provinces. He brought Sīstān and Khwārizm under his control and reigned from east to west protecting science and religion. But already Mongolian troops appeared on the eastern frontier (p.131). The army of Khurāsān could not resist their swift horsemen who overran them so completely that very few escaped. This was the beginning of the domination of the Mongols. (gap of a number of pages).

(p.132) Badr al-Din Lu'lu' died in 657 and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Ṣālih. He was besieged in Mauṣil and expected help from the Egyptians but the Mongols managed to deceive him and conquered the town. In 660 a battle took place at Shamākhī between Nūqai and Shīramūn Nūyān, Abātāy Nūyān and Samāghār (p.133). Nūqai and his troops were put to flight. Abāqū pursued him to his own territory but suffered heavy losses in crossing the Terek when Barkah repelled him. Hūlāgū died in 663 and was buried in Shāhitalah (p.134).

TRANSLATION OF PAGES 134 - 184 OF
TA' RĪKH-I SHAIKH UW AIS

Government of Abāqā Khān

(p. 134) It lasted for eighteen years. His genealogy reads: Abāqā Khān, son of Hūlāgū Khān. And it is said that it (the government) lasted for seventeen years, three months and seventeen days ¹. He had two sons, Arghūn and Gaikhātū. When his father died, he (Abāqā) was in Māzandarān. He came and ascended the throne in Jaghān Nāwūr, assuming the government in the year 663 (October 24, 1264 - October 12, 1265) ². He sent Yāshmūt ³ to Shirwān, set Tūbshīn in control of Khurāsān, sent Tūghūz Bitikchī, son of Īlkān Nūyān ⁴, and Tūdān, the grandfather of Amīr Chūbān, to Rūm, Durbāy Nūyān ⁵ to Diyārbakr, Sīramūn Nūyān ⁶, the son of Chūrmāghūn, to Gurjistān, he handed over the royal domains to Al-tajū Nūyān, he gave the provinces of Baghdād and Fārs to Sūnjāq, the brother of Tūdān and entrusted Arghūn Āqā with the administration of finances. Abāqā set up his capital in Tabrīz. The office of governor of Baghdād he gave to 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā Malik. That year he spent the winter in Māzandarān. He dispatched Yāshmūt to Arrān.

Nūqāy set out for Shirwān with the army of Barkah Khān and he came as far as the Aqsū. Yāshmūt crossed the river Kur and a battle took place between them. Qāyir Bughā ⁷, the father of Taghāchār, was killed and Nūqāy ⁸ received a wound in his head. His army was routed and retreated as far as Shirwān. Barkā' ⁹ arrived from the far side with three hundred thousand horsemen. Abāqān Khān crossed the river Kur from this side, (but) retreated (once again) to this side of the bridge, which was (then) severed. Both armies drew up on the banks of the river. They began to shoot ar-

1) RaD/Jahn I, p. 3: seventeen years and four months. The author writes the name of Abāqā in various ways: Abāqā, Abāqā, Abāqān. As to Abāqā see also D'Ohsson III, p. 413 - 538; Spuler/Iran p. 67 - 77; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 82 - 97; Howorth III, p. 218 - 284.

2) RaD/Jahn I, p. 7 gives as the exact date the third of Ramadān = June 19, 1256. See also Spuler-Iran p. 67.

3) RaD/Jahn I, p. 8; Spuler/Iran p. 353. In MS: Bāsh.gh.t.

4) RaD/Jahn I, p. 8: Tūghū Bitikchī, son of Īlkā Nūyān. Bitikchī is written in MS: y.t.l.khī or tīl.khī.

5) RaD/Jahn I, p. 8: Dūrtāy Nūyān; but cf. Barthold/Turkestan p. 449 and Pelliot/Campagnes p. 402, where a personal name Dōrbāi-Doqsīn is given.

6) Regarding the form Sīrāmūn cf. Yuan che CVII, p. 76 and 78. RaD/Jahn I, p. 8 has Shīrāmūn (cf. Spuler/Iran p. 69: Sīrāmōn).

7) RaD/Jahn I, p. 9 calls him Qūtū Būqā.

8) In MS: Nūqī. Regarding this name see Yuan che CVII, p. 93 (Noqai) Spuler/Goldene Horde (passim): Nohai.

9) Different spellings of this name in MS: Barkā, Barkā', Barkah. Yuan che CVII p. 53 etc.: Bārkā, Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 33 and Grekov (Zolotaja Orda p. 63: Berke.

rows. For a fortnight they remained opposite each other and could not cross. They set out for Tiflīs to cross (there but) Barkā fell ill and (p.135) died ¹⁰. His coffin was carried to Sarāy-i Bātū ^{10a} where he was buried. He lost his life in the region of Shirwān, near to the river Terek ¹¹. Mūnkā Timūr was his successor ^{11a}.

R e i g n o f M u n k ā T i m ū r

This lasted for sixteen years. His genealogy reads: Mankū Timur ¹², son of Nūqāy, son of Bātū. In the course of the year 664 (October 13, 1265 – October 1, 1266) ¹³. He reigned over the whole of the Dasht-i Qifchāq as far as the frontiers of Khwārizm.

Abāqā Khān ordered that the princes Samāghār and Mankū Timūr and Ūljāy Khwātūn should remain within the limits of the banks of the rivers Kur and Dalān Nāwūr and the desert of Gardamūn. That place was, or became, their winterquarters ¹⁴.

Fighting broke out after that, against Burāq, Murghāwal and Jalāyirtā; they were finally routed at the gate of the town of Herāt. One of the poets may have said: "on the first day of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, in the year 663 (September 14, 1265) ¹⁵, as ordained

10) The same story (almost literally) about the war against Barkah in RaD/Jahn I, p. 9. Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 33 – 52 puts the death of Barkah in January 1267, Grekov/Zolotaja Orda p. 77 – 78 and 83 in 1266.

10a) As regards this town, see Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 266 – 269; Vernadski/Mongols p. 153 etc.

11) Even if this sentence refers to another person than Barkah, "Shirwān" and "near to the river Terek" are difficult to reconcile with each other. Regarding Barkah's death see Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 51.

11a) The conventional phrase "God knows better what is the real truth", having no connection with the contents of the MS, has been omitted in the translation.

12) This name is written in various ways in the MS: Mūnkā, M. nkū. Cf. Yuan che CVII, p. 53 (Mōngā-Tēmūr), p. 90 (Mānggō-Tēmūr). Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 52 – 62 puts the death of Mōngkā Temūr in July 1280; Grekov/Zolotaja Orda p. 83 states that Mengu Timur reigned till 1280 or 1282.

13) This sentence is probably incomplete, for it can hardly refer to the beginning of the reign of Mūnkā Timūr.

14) This sentence has probably been copied corruptly from RaD/Jahn I, p. 9: "Abāghā ordered a wall to be built beyond the Kur, from Dalān Nāwūr as far as the steppe of Gardamān, connecting it with the river Kur, and a deep moat to be dug and a number of Mongols and Muslims to be put there as a guard..... and as Abāghā Khān was satisfied about the campaign to Darband, he released Mankū Timūr, Samāghār Nūyān and Ūljāy Khwātūn..... and he spent the winter in Māzandarān and Kirmān. As regards the name Gardamān (in MS Gardamūn) see Minorsky/Studies p. 29 – 30.

15) If we drop the diacritical point in the ٢ of the indication of the year in "abjad", the date becomes July 20, 1270, which fits better into the chronological order of events in the MS. Cf. also Spuler/Iran p. 70 and D'Ohsson III, p. 447.

As regards the reading Barāq for Burāq see Yuan che CVII, p. 59.

by God, fighting took place between the armies of the whole world. At the gate of the town of Herāt, the army of the princes Abāqā and Tūbshīn gained a victory over Burāq. They pursued and killed many of them (of the troops of Burāq). It was a glorious victory".

Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī died in the year 672, on Monday the 18th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah (June 25, 1274) ¹⁶. Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn Raṣādī says -verse- : "Muḥammad Tūsī, the mainstay of the people and the state, whose equal Mother Nature has not produced, died in Baghdād in the year 672, on the 18th day of Dhū 'l-Hijjah" ¹⁷. Sa'd al-Dīn Naṭanzī says: "Mainstay of the state and religion, king of the land of wisdom, who was the summit of excellence and the sun of the earth. (p. 136) In the year 672 A.H., on the 18th day of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, he, whose dust was a place of pilgrimage for the faithful soul, grew tired of the abode of frailty. He pitched his tent in the higher paradise".

The viziership passed to Shams al-Dīn Juwainī Khurāsānī, the superintendent of finances. Arghūn Aqā died in Marghẓār Rādakān in the course of the year 673 (July 7, 1274 – June 26, 1275) ¹⁸.

Findiqdār ¹⁹ marched against Rūm with a strong army. On this (the Persian) side Amīr Tūghī, son of Īlkān Nūyān, Uruqtū and Tūdān, son of Shīdūn ²⁰, were there each with a tuman of troops. Badr al-Dīn Parwānah ²¹ had embraced the cause of Findiqdār and aimed at an alliance with him. On the evening when they (the Egyptians) approached, Parwānah gave a lot of wine both to the emirs and the army, so that they lay asleep dead drunk. In the morning, the Egyptian army with Findiqdār arrived, putting the whole army (of their enemies) to death and killing the emirs. When the news reached the king (Abāqā), he marched against Rūm and put many of the Turkomāns of Rūm to death. The kingdom of Khūn.b.hā ²², (which) is a big province in Rūm, was given as a fief on that day to the heirs of Amīr Tūghī.

Findiqdār died in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 676 (April 26 – May 24, 1278) ²³. Alfī was his successor.

Abaqa Khan gave Rum to prince Qunartay ²⁴. He ordered the des-

16) The date in RaD/Jahn I, p. 33 (the 17th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah) does not correspond to the weekday. About Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī see EI s.v.; Browne II, p. 484 – 486; D'Ohsson III, p. 538.

17) The same verse is quoted in RaD/Jahn I, p. 33.

18) RaD/Jahn I, 31: in the month Dhū 'l-Hijjah; Mustaufī p. 583: on the 20th = June 16, 1275.

19) Al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baibars al-Bunduqdārī (Zambaur 103). EI s.v. Baibars.

20) RaD/Jahn I, p. 31, 38 gives their names in the forms: Tūqū, son of Īlkāy Nūyān, Uruqtū or Ūruqtū and Tūdūn, son of Sūdūn.

21) Zambaur p. 147 and EI s.v.: Parwānah Mu'īn al-Dīn.

22) Reading uncertain. In MS: Khūn.b.hā or Khūb.n.hā. Spuler/Iran p. 354 mentions Togai (Tūghū) as governor of Rūm in 1275. (Perhaps = Konya?).

23) In MS: 683. Zambaur p. 103 gives as the exact date of his death the 28th of Muharram 676 = July 1, 1277.

24) RaD/Jahn I, p. 32: Qūnghūrtāy Ūghūl.

truction of the fortress of Daqāt and of Ūghānīyah ²⁵, which was the dwelling of Badr al-Dīn Parwānah, and returned from there. When he reached Aladāq, Parwānah was executed.

From there he (Abāqā) went to Baghdād and sent the army to Hims. Prince Mankū Timur was in that army. Taknāz and Tūladāy Yārghūchī grew afraid ²⁶, turned on their heels and fled; many soldiers were killed. The news reached Abāqā Khān, who was very angry and came from Baghdād to Hamadān and took up residence in the palace of Malik 'Imād al-Dīn ²⁷. He died on Wednesday the 20th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah in the year 680 (April 1, 1282) (p.137) after excessive drinking. Prince Mankū Timur died in Mausil. The coffins of both were carried to Shāhi-talah (and they were interred) near the ilkhān ²⁸. The rule passed to his (Abāqā's) brother.

G o v e r n m e n t o f A h m a d K h ā n

This lasted for two years, two months and thirteen days. His genealogy reads: Takūdār, son of Hūlāgū. In agreement with the princes Qūnartāy, Hūlājū, Jūshkāb and Kīshū, and the emirs Shīktūr, Sūnjāq, 'Arab, Qarabughā and other emirs ²⁹, the kingship was assigned to him and he ascended the throne on the 13th of Rabī' I, 681 (June 21, 1282) ³⁰. He brought out the treasures which were in Shāhi-talah and distributed them among the princes and emirs. To every soldier he gave a hundred and twenty dinars and entered their names in a register.

Mūnkā Timūr had died in the ulūs of Barkā. (Tūdā) Mūnkā was his successor ³¹.

R e i g n o f T ū d (ā) M ū n k ā

This lasted for five years.

In the course of the year 682 (April 1, 1283 – March 20, 1284)

- 25) Daqāt is the fortress of Toqat; Ūghānīyah is called in RaD/Jahn I, p. 32: Kūghānīyah.
- 26) RaD/Jahn I, p. 41 calls them Taknā and Dūlādāy. See also D'Ohsson III, p. 514, 524 – 532.
- 27) RaD/Jahn I, p. 41 and D'Ohsson III, p. 537 call him Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Manūchīhr.
- 28) Cf. RaD/Jahn I, p. 42: "they brought his coffin to Shāhāntalah and buried him near the great ilkhān". Mankū Timūr died in the neighbourhood of Mausil on the 16th of Muharram 681 = April 26, 1282. According to Mustaufī p. 584 he died in Baghdād.
- 29) RaD/Jahn I, p. 44: Qūnqūrtāy, Kīnshū, Qarābūqāy.
- 30) Thus in RaD/Jahn I, p. 45 and Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 217. In MS: 670 or 675.
- 31) In MS only: Mūnkā, and in the next line: Tūd Mūnkā, Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 63 – 69: Tudā(n) Mōngkā (he reigned 1280 – 1287); Grekov/Zolotaja Orda 84 – 85: Tuda Mengu; Yuan che CVII, p. 52 – 54: Tötö-mōnggā and Tōdā-mōnggā.

Sultān Aḥmad sent Maulānā Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī to Egypt with a letter to the king of Syria ³². And later he sent Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān, who died there in prison.

And Sultān Aḥmad had three sons: Qaplanjī, Arslanjī and Būkhājī ³³. Qūnartāy conspired with several emirs and was covetous of the government. Aḥmad was informed of this and sent Alīnāq to seize him. He brought him to Arrān and executed him together with Kūchūk Anqūchī (p.138) and Shādī Akhtājī in Qarābāgh ³⁴. And it is said that Arghūn also participated in that plot. The sultān sent Alīnāq to fight against him. In Āqjah Khwājah ³⁵ near Qazwīn a battle took place (wherein) Alīnāq was defeated. Arghūn went to Khurāsān, Aḥmad recruited an army and pursued him. Arghūn went to the fortress of Kulāt ³⁶. Alīnāq brought him to the king who granted him pardon. He returned. Arghūn Khān was with Alīnāq. One night, he (Alīnāq) was in a drunken sleep; several emirs and princes went in, cut off the head of Alīnāq and released Arghūn, whom they appointed king. Aḥmad took flight by way of Safarāyin ³⁷. Tūladāy and a Mongolian army with several thousand men pursued, seized and killed him and pillaged the camp. In the morning of the 6th of Jumādā I in the year 683 (July 21, 1284), Arghūn Khān was arrested and in the evening he became king ³⁸.

G o v e r n m e n t o f A r g h ū n K h ā n

This lasted for seven years. His genealogy reads: Arghūn Khān, son of Abāqā Khān, son of Hūlāgū Khān. He had four sons: Ghāzān, Kharbandah, Yīsūn Timūr and Ūghul Malik ³⁹.

Shams al-Dīn, the superintendent of finances, fled as far as Qum. (His) vicegerent said: "let us go to Herāt". He answered: "how shall I leave my children in the hands of the Mongols?". He returned and came to Būqā, who took him to his majesty, who paid

32) According to RaD/Jahn I, p. 47-49, Shams al-Dīn sent Maulānā Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī to Egypt in 681, and later Aḥmad sent Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān to Egypt. He was imprisoned and he died in Damascus. The word "bi-shirkat" at the beginning of the sentence is inexplicable.

33) RaD/Jahn I, p. 43: Nūqājī.

34) RaD/Jahn I, p. 50 calls them Kūchūk Ūqchī and Shādī Akhtājī, Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 255: Kūchuk Nū'in (Nūyān?) and Shādhī Aqtājī.

35) = Aq Khwājah.

36) = Kalāt.

37) = Isfarāyin.

38) RaD/Jahn I, p. 59 puts the death of Aḥmad on Thursday the 26th of Jumādā I; Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 280 puts the accession to the throne of Arghūn on the 7th of that month. For the different dates see Spuler/Iran p. 81-82.

39) RaD/Jahn I, p. 61 calls the last two: Yīsū Timūr and Khatāy Ūghul. Pelliot/Campagnes derives such names as Yāsūgāi or Yissūgāi from Mongolian yāsūn (nine).

no heed to him. Earlier Nūyān Shīrah ⁴⁰ had brought his (Shams al-Dīn's) son Yahyā and confiscated the possessions of the superintendent, Amir 'Alī Tamghāchī, Fakhr al-Dīn Mustaufī and Husān al-Dīn Ṣāhib, who had been favoured by him, tried to effect the issue of an order in Ūjān that he (Shams al-Dīn) should give two thousand tūmāns in gold. He said: "I have no gold, but I have possessions which yield a yearly revenue of three hundred and sixty thousand dinars, every day a thousand dinars" ⁴¹. Dūladāy and Qūdāy ⁴² were sent to interrogate him. He did not admit that he had ready money. (p. 139) They thrashed him several times with sticks, but to no avail. The sultān set off on a march from Ūjān to Arrān. On Monday the 4th of Sha'bān of the year 683 (October 16, 1284) ⁴³ he (Shams al-Dīn) was executed on the mountain Hash-tādsar, which lies between Ahr and Siyāh ⁴⁴. And Yahyā was executed shortly afterwards in the market-place of Tabrīz. The position of vizier was given to Sa'd al-Daulah Abharī. Raḍī al-Dīn Bābā says: "the great lord among the rulers of that time, Shams al-Dīn, the essence of all horizons, the superintendent of finances, was killed in the year 683, at the time of afternoon prayers, on Monday the 4th of Sha'bān".

In the year 685 (February 27, 1286 – February 16, 1287), Pūlād Chinksān and Ūrduqiyā brought a sūyurghāl ⁴⁵ from the Qān, con-

40) It is quite uncommon to put the title nūyān before the name. Is this sentence perhaps a corrupted copy of RaD/Jahn I, p. 64: "...and on Friday the 10th of Rajab of the year 683 he arrived at Qurbānshīrah and called on Būqā". ?Amīr 'Alī Tamghāchī arrested Yahyā. See also D'Ohsson IV, p. 6.

41) The emendation in RaD/Jahn I, 64, note 2 seems unnecessary, the meaning being probably: "at present my possessions amount to so much that they realize one thousand dinars (viz. a day)". Cf. also Mustaufī p. 584 and D'Ohsson IV, p. 7, 8.

42) RaD/Jahn I, p. 64: Dūladāy Yārghūchī and Qadān; Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 288: Qadāghāy and Ūktāy.

43) Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 290 has Tuesday which does not correspond to the date.

44) Mount Hashtādsar lies about 20 miles north of the town of Ahr; cf. Schwarz (VIII), p. 970 – 973. Siyāh may be a place name (or = Siyāh-kūh ?).

Waṣṣāf/Hammer p. 289 calls the place of execution Mūniyah near Ahr; Browne III, p. 27 (based on Bar Hebraeus): Mu'īna near Ahr.

RaD/Jahn I, p. 65 should be Ahr (as in the ms, note 1), not Abhar.

45) Suyūrghāl means (Steingass): "fief, feudal tenure" or (written by Steingass sūyarghāl) "a royal robe or present, a territory, town or village granted by the king in feudal tenure"; Spuler/Iran p. 329: "(erbliches) Soldlehen" (sujurhal, sejürgāl).

The Mongolian word sojurghal means literally "granting" and was used in this general sense in sources from the 13th till the 18th century. But the most characteristic use is that in the sense of granting a piece of territory as a fief (I. P. Petruševskij: K istorii instituta sojurgala, in: Sovjetskoe Vostokovedenie VI (1949), p. 227 – 246). According to RaD/Jahn I, p. 66 a yarlīgh (diploma, royal mandate) was brought from Qūbīlāy, confirming Arghūn as successor to his father and giving Būqā the title of Chīnksān.

It is, therefore, better to substitute the word suyurghāl in the MS by yarlīgh.

cerning (the appointment to) the kingship of Arghūn Khān. Būqā received the title of chinksān. He evinced great pride and looked contemptuously on the emirs. He therefore lost the esteem of the king. They deliberated with Arūs⁴⁶, Qurmishī⁴⁷, the son of Hindūqūr Nūyān, Amīr Ūjān, Zankī, the son of Bābā Nūyān, and Tughlūq. They sent a message to Jūshkāb⁴⁸ and invited him to become king. The letter which had been written to Jūshkāf arrived and he took it to his majesty. He ordered Jūshkāf to draw with his own hand a thong of skin from the back of Būqā and those others were executed. And of the Tājīks they executed Amir 'Alī Tamghāchī, Husām al-Dīn Sāhib, 'Imād al-Dīn Munajjim, Sham'ūn Bāwarūm-qalah⁴⁹ and Bahā' al-Daulah Abū Karīm⁵⁰, all of them.

The king gave Jūshkāf a fief and he returned to Khurāsān. Again he (the king) received information that he was not true. He sent Būghdāy Akhtajī with some others, as for instance Bāytmish Qūshchī and 'Arabtāy Gūrgān⁵¹ to pursue (Jūshkāf). He gave battle with them and was defeated. They seized him, brought him to his majesty and he was executed. The princes Hulājū and Qarabuqāy were executed in Dāmghān⁵² in Ramadān of the year (p. 140) 688 September 18 – October 17, 1289).

And while the rule in the Dasht-i Qifchāq was held jointly by the princes, Tūghtāy⁵³ came and subdued them all and ascended the throne of Barkā and Bātūy.

R e i g n o f T ū q t ā y

This lasted for twenty three years⁵⁴. His genealogy reads: Tūqtāy, son of Mūnkā Timur. He killed all (his rivals), ascended the throne and obtained absolute power.

Sultān Arghūn Khān reigned over the whole country of Īrān, and finally fell ill, lay down on his deathbed and passed away on Monday the 7th of Rabī' I in the year 690 (March 10, 1291)⁵⁵, in Arrān. His coffin was borne to Sujās⁵⁶. Taghāchār, Qūnchūqbāl,

46) RaD/Jahn I, p. 70: Arūq.

47) HA/Bayani and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 146: Qūrmīshī (also in Spuler/Iran, p. 120, 346). RaD/Jahn I and II allow the reading Qurumshī (Mustaufī p. 604 has this vocalization).

48) The form Jūshkāf is used in other places in MS.

49) RaD/Jahn I, p. 72: Sham'ūn, known by (or as) Rūm-qal'ah.

50) RaD/Jahn I, p. 62: Bahā' al-Daulah Abū al-Kiram Naṣrānī.

51) Reading uncertain. RaD/Jahn I, p. 73: Gh.r.b.tāy Gūrgān.

52) In MS: Lāmghān.

53) Both Tūqtāy and Tūghtāy occur in the MS.

54) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 69 – 84: Tudā(n) Möngkā abdicated in 1287 in favour of Teleboga who was killed in 1291 by Tohtu. Tohtu died August 9, 1312. See also Grekov/Zolotaja Orda p. 84--90.

55) RaD/Jahn I, 79: Saturday.

56) The form Sijās is more usual.

together with Tukāl and Īljīdā' ⁵⁷ had sworn an oath to take the life of Sultān Aidājī and they killed him. They sent Tūghān to put Qūjān, Jūsī and Sa'd al-Daulah ⁵⁸ to death in the night that Sultān Arghūn died. And he executed them and Urdūqiyā and Sa'd al-Daulah were killed in the house of Taghāchār ⁵⁹. Gaikhātū, the brother of Arghūn Khān, ascended the throne.

G o v e r n m e n t o f G a i k h ā t ū K h ā n

This lasted for three years, nine months and twelve days. He had three sons: Alafrank, Īrānshāh and Jīn Pulād. On the 24th of Rajab 690 (July 23, 1291) ⁶⁰ he ascended the throne. He arrested all the emirs to interrogate them, but pardoned them again, only Tūghān was kept under arrest. Amīr Aqbūqā Gūrgān sent Urdūqiyā (p.141) to execute him by means of a yarlīgh ⁶¹.

He (Gaikhātū) went to Rūm and left Amīr Shīktur ⁶² as his vicegerent in the camp ("urdū"). There was a rumour about the army of Syria, and Malik Ashraf had laid siege to Qal'at al-Rūm.

And Shaikh Sa'dī died on the 29th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah 690 (December 23, 1291) ⁶³ and one of the poets has said about him: "The phoenix of the pure spirit of Shaikh Sa'dī spread his feathers (and winged) away from the dust of the body, in the month of Dhū 'l-Hijjah in that year 690, on the night of Tuesday".

When Amīr Aqbūqā Gūrgān went to Rūm to fight against the army of Syria, the king sent prince Tāyjū ⁶⁴, the son of Mankū Timur, son of Hulāgū Khān, and Būghdāy Akhtājī, Taghāchār and Īnāq Tamājī in the rear-guard of the army of Rūm. When they arrived there they put the army of Syria to flight and seized Qal'at al-Rūm ⁶⁵. And from there they came to Arrān and gave the position of vizier

57) RaD/Jahn I, p. 78 has Tūghān in stead of Īljīdā'.

58) RaD/Jahn I, p. 79: on the day that prince Khatāy Ughul was born, the first of Rabī' I = March 4, 1291.

59) RaD/Jahn I, p. 79: "...they seized Jūshī and Urdūqiyā and sent Tūghān to seize Qūjān and Sa'd al-Daulah, and in that night they killed Jūshī and Qūjān, and on the next day they tried Urdūqiyā and Sa'd al-Daulah in the house of Taghāchār and killed both".

Mīrkhwānd V, p. 108: Urdūqiyā and Jūshī were killed, thereupon Tukāl and Qūrmishī seized Sa'd al-Daulah and killed him in the house of Taghāchār. See also D'Ohsson IV, p. 57.

60) As to Gaikhātū: Mīrkhwānd V, p. 108 - 112; D'Ohsson IV, p. 60 - 114; Spuler/Iran p. 86 - 91.

61) It is better to read with RaD/Jahn I, p. 83: "the children of Urdūqiyā", who were allowed to revenge their father.

62) RaD/Jahn I, p. 84: Shīktūr Nūyān.

63) EI s.v. puts his death in September 1292.

64) MS omits the diacritical points. RaD/Jahn I, 85: Tāyjū Ughul; Spuler Iran p. 93: Tāiğū or Tābğū.

65) RaD/Jahn I, p. 85 writes Būqdāy Akhtājī and Tamājī Īnāq; Malik Ashraf took Qal'at al-Rūm.

to Ṣadr al-Dīn Taghāchār⁶⁶ bestowing upon him the title of Ṣadr-i Jahān.

And the paper money was issued in Tabrīz in the course of the year 693 (December 2, 1293 – November 20, 1294). The reason for this was that Sultān Gaikhātū asked Pūlād Chinksān: "They say that in the empire of the Qān and the region of Khaṭāy there is much luxury and there are many golden objects. Why is this?" He answered: "Paper money is in circulation there; the available gold and silver is used for implements". In that way he laid the foundation for that desire (viz. also to issue paper money) but (his attempt) was unsuccessful.

Prince Bāydū was in Baghdād. He started a rebellion and killed Muḥammad Sukūrchi, the governor of Baghdād. The king was informed that Bāydū had become his enemy and that several emirs had conspired with him. The king imprisoned them in Tabrīz together with Qifchāq Ūghul, the son of Bāydū, and sent Amīr Aqbughā Gūrgān with Taghāchār to fight against Bāydū. Bāydū was (already) on the march. When they reached the Jaghātū, Taghāchār joined forces with Bāydū. Amīr Aqbughā Gūrgān returned, out of loyalty and pure faith. He joined Gaikhātū at the river Ahr⁶⁷. The king wished to set out for Rūm, but his counsellors did not allow it. He arrived at Pīlsuwār. Amīr Ḥasan, the son of Tūghī⁶⁸, fled from him (p.142) in the middle of the night and went to Tabrīz. And the emirs who were imprisoned with Qifchāq Ūghul, the son of Bāydū, viz. Tūladāy, Qūnchūqbāl, Īljīdā' and Bughdāy came out (of prison) by order of 'Arabtā' Gūrgān⁶⁹. Qifchāq Ūghul went to his father. The hazārah of Bārūm⁷⁰ seized Gaikhātū with the emirs and delivered them to Tūkāl and to prince Īldār, the son of Ajāy, the son of Hulāgū, so that he might execute them. In the course of the year 694 (November 21, 1294 – November 9, 1295), Bāydū came from Baghdād and ascended the throne, when still very young.

G o v e r n m e n t o f B ā y d ū K h ā n

This lasted for six months. Ghāzān was in Khurāsān. He came, and in the region of Qurbānshīrah they (both sides) drew up. They

66) His name was Ṣadr al-Dīn Zinjānī or Khaladī (RaD/Jahn I, p. 85, 86; Spuler/Iran p. 88, 286; D'Ohsson IV, p. 96). Taghāchār is put here probably by mistake.

67) RaD/Jahn I, p. 79: Abhar (in ms of RaD: Ahr).

68) RaD/Jahn I, p. 89 calls him Būqū; RaD/Berezin p. 37: Qūtū.

69) RaD/Jahn I, p. 89: hearing the news of the flight of Amīr Ḥasan, Qūnchūqbāl and Dūladāy came out of prison. Amīr Īrīnjīn, Bāyjāq and a few others liberated Qipchāq Ughul.

70) RaD/Jahn I, p. 89, RaD/Jahn II, p. 100: Bārīm.

fought a fierce battle on Thursday the 17th of Rajab (June 2, 1295). Eight hundred men from both sides were killed between them⁷¹. The emirs acted as mediators once again arranging a truce to the effect that Bāydū and Ghāzān should each come forward from the army with a small party, which might not be greater than ten men, and should negotiate face to face with each other. From the side of Bāydū came Taghāchār, Tūladā', Qūnchūqbāl and Īljīdā', and from the side of Ghāzān, came Naurūz, Nūrīn and Sūtāy, taking their place on an eminence between the armies. And after excessive deliberation it was agreed that Ghāzān should go to Khurāsān and that Bāydū should be the established king.

And a group came from the army of Bāydū and on the day on which they murdered Gaikhātū, together with Tamājī Īnāq and others, they had seized Amīr Aqbughā Gūrgān and kept him under arrest. Qūnchūqbāl went to Bāydū and persuaded him to kill Aqbughā.

And Ghāzān went to Khurāsān, leaving Naurūz, the son of Arghūn Āqā, with (the task of securing) the yarlīgh concerning Khurāsān and 'Irāq⁷² and with the care of the camps (urdū) and the ladies of his uncle and his father. Bāydū held (Naurūz) up for one week (p. 143), saying: "Be one with me against Ghāzān". Naurūz swore an oath: "I shall send to you the head of Ghāzān or I shall send to you Ghāzān in fetters". "What a wise man who, when hard pressed, avoids the whims of the revolving wheel of fortune. And when the stratagem works, he saves his life by means of deceit".

Naurūz went away from Bāydū leaving him in Marāghah, and reached king Ghāzān at Fīrūzkūh-i Damāwand. He explained the situation and, on account of the oath he had sworn, he sent a closed cauldron⁷³ to Bāydū. All were astonished.

When Ghāzān Khān was searching for means to drive the enemy away, Naurūz and the emirs said: "If the king wishes events to take place according to his desires, he must become Muslim, for in the stars and in the ordinances and biographies of the shaikhs it is said that in the year 694 (November 21, 1294 - November 9, 1295) a Muslim king will ascend the throne, throne and crown will be assigned to him. Because God - praise be to Him and may He be exalted - had put the light of Islām in the heart of Ghāzān, the word of Naurūz took effect and on the 4th of Sha'bān (694 = June 19, 1295) a great feast was arranged at the gate of the castle which was the residence of Arghūn in the place Lār-i Damāwand⁷⁴.

71) RaD/Jahn II, p. 60: eight hundred men were killed on the side of Bāydū.

72) RaD/Jahn II, p. 67 - 72.

73) Thus he fulfilled his oath to Bāydū, "Ghāzān bastah" meaning both "Ghāzān in fetters" and "a closed cauldron".

74) RaD/Jahn II, p. 79 - 80 does not mention this place; D'Ohsson IV, p. 132.

He (Ghāzān) entered the bath and performed the ritual ablution and Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥamawī instructed him in the declaration of faith. Ghāzān and all the nobles became Muslims.

And on that side (viz. of his opponents) Taghāchār had grown weary of the reign of Bāydū, and Ṣadr al-Dīn Zinjān(ī) ^{74a} was humiliated because the position of vizier was given to Jamāl al-Dīn Dastjurdānī, (so) he fled and joined Ghāzān.

On Friday ⁷⁵ Ghāzān set out for Rayy. He sent Naurūz with five thousand men as the vanguard. Amīr Chūbān and Qurmishī joined him. Taghāchār and Bughdāy Akhtājī, having fled, also joined Naurūz. Bāydū was routed. Naurūz entered Tabrīz and destroyed the churches and synagogues. Qurmishī, with Shādī and four thousand men, pursued Bāydū, seized him, brought him before Naurūz, and informed Ghāzān. He sent Sūtāy Akhtājī (p. 144) to put an end to the existence of Bāydū in the Bāghchah ^{75a} in Tabrīz.

The king came to Tabrīz and went from there to Mūqān and Arrān. He encamped near Rūbakrābād ^{75b} and ascended the king's throne, gracing the world with justice and fairness.

G o v e r n m e n t o f M a ḥ m ū d G h ā z ā n K h ā n

This lasted for eight years and eight months. From Muharram of the year 695 (November 10 – December 9, 1295) ⁷⁶ the government was assigned to him. He sent Taghāchār to Rūm. A rumour about the enemy came from the direction of Khurāsān. He sent Naurūz to Khurāsān. Sūkāy ⁷⁷, the son of Yashmūt, offered resistance. He (the king) sent Hūrghudāq ⁷⁸ with the army of Arrān, and he finally seized him (Sūkāy) in the region of Kharraqān and executed him.

Tūkāl the emirs of Bāydū ⁷⁹. In five days thirty emirs and five princes were executed. He sent Kharmanjī to Rūm to execute Taghāchār.

There was discord between Nūrīn and Naurūz, and Ṣadr-i Jihān feared Naurūz because of (his acquaintance with) a person called Qaiṣar who had come from the king of Egypt. He devised a trick. He forged a letter and, while he was sitting by the side of Hājī,

74a) In MS: Zinjān.

75) RaD/Jahn II, p. 82 (Stambul ms): on Friday in the middle of Shawwāl (694 = September 2, 1295).

75a) There is a small empty space in the MS after the word Bāghchah (= Bāghchah-i Arghūn?).

75b) This is probably the same place as Bekrābād (see Map of Ādharbaijān in IA, mad. Azerbaijan).

76) According to RaD/Jahn II, p. 88, Ghāzān ascended the throne on the 23rd of Dhū 'l-Hijjah 694 = November 4, 1295.

77) RaD/Jahn II, p. 98: Sūkā.

78) RaD/Jahn II, p. 98: Hūrqudāq.

79) The verb has been omitted in MS.

the brother of Naurūz, he put that letter in his purse and informed the sultān of the rebellion of Naurūz. The kinsmen of Naurūz were seized. His son Ūrduqiyā⁸⁰ was seized and executed in Jumādā II of the year 696 (March 27 – April 26, 1297). Thereupon Ṣātilmīsh, the vicegerent of Naurūz, was executed, together with his son Qutlugh Timūr, Hājjī, Kamāl Kūchik⁸¹ and Lakzī Gūrgān, the brother of Naurūz⁸². And he (the king) sent Qutlughshāh with the army of Arrān to Khurāsān, and from Bīsutūn he also sent Kharbandah to Khurāsān.

Naurūz went to the fortress of Herāt and took shelter there. (p. 145) The king of Herāt seized him and delivered him up. On the 23rd of Shawwāl (696 = August 14, 1297)⁸³ he was executed at the gate of Herāt and Pūlād-qiyā was sent with his head to his majesty. The āl-tamghā^{83a} was given to Ṣadr-i Jihān.

On Thursday the 16th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah (696 = October 5, 1297) the foundation of the high cupola was laid⁸⁴.

And Qutlughshāh returned from Khurāsān and received a fief. And in Rajab of the year 697 (April 14 – May 14, 1298) Tāyjū Ughul, the son of Mankū Timur, was executed on the bank of the river Dalān Nāwur^{84a} together with four servants. The forgery which Ṣadr-i Jihān had committed concerning Naurūz came to light. On Sunday the 23rd of Rajab (697 = May 6, 1298)⁸⁵ he was executed in Ūjān and the viziership was given to Sa'd al-Dīn Sāwajī.

In Muharram (699 = September 28 – October 2, 1300)⁸⁶ the sultān set out for Syria. The army with the royal banners settled down at (a distance of) three farsakhs from Hims. The army of Syria arrived in the year 699 (September 28, 1299 – September 15, 1300). They took up position. The vanguard of the army was (formed by) Amīr Chūbān, Sultān Yasāwul⁸⁷ and Īlbāsmīsh. The Egyptians, relying on their numbers, attacked them. The king and his army arrived and made a sudden attack. The army of Syria was defeated and routed. The king took Hims and from there he went to Damascus. The whole population of Syria, with Naṣr bin Alfī, did their utmost. It was of no avail. He (the king) conquered Damascus as well and appointed Qutlugh-qiyā as governor, sent Amīr

80) RaD/Jahn II, p. 110 calls him Ūrdūbūqā.

81) RaD/Jahn II, p. 111; Azzāwī I, p. 377 calls him Kamāl al-Dīn Kūchik.

82) In MS: Lashkar Gūrgān. See RaD/Jahn II, p. 111. The mistake has been made under influence of the word "lashkar" in the same line.

83) RaD/Jahn II, p. 116.

83a) As regards the āl-tamghā ("red stamp"; royal seal) see Spuler/Iran p. 293.

84) RaD/Jahn II, p. 117: on Saturday, which corresponds to the date.

84a) In MS written: Dilān-i Nāwar.

85) RaD/Jahn II, p. 120: Rajab 21, which corresponds to the weekday.

86) RaD/Jahn II, p. 125.

87) RaD/Jahn II, p. 130 writes Yīsāwul. Spuler/Iran p. 114: Jasawul. Favet de Courteille p. 526: yasawul (messenger, intendent).

Qutlughshāh and Amīr Chūbān there with an army and then returned. When the Egyptians discovered that they (the Mongols) were few in number, they came and gave battle with them. They defeated Qutlughshāh and put many of his troops to death. It is said that Qutlughshāh fled beforehand while Chūbān stayed behind and arranged for food to be cooked which he gave to the wounded. He left no one by the wayside, and (all) that was great bravery. All those who came from that army to his majesty spoke about his courage of great repute, and this impressed the sultān. (p. 146) He appointed him emir of the ulūs and his name was inscribed in the yarlīgh⁸⁸.

During the time that the whole of Īrān was graced by the justice of the king of Islām, who held back the oppressor's hand from (harming) the oppressed, Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn was charged with the office of (court-) physician. He was one of the grandees of Hamadān. And Maulānā Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī was always in his company and instructed Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn.

And when Khudābandah was in Khurāsān and the population continually brought complaints about the emirs Hūrghudāq⁸⁹ and Amīr 'Alī Qūshchī to his majesty, the king entrusted the financial administration of Khurāsān to Maulāyad⁹⁰ and sent him there.

It is said that the august Amīr Aqbughā Gūrgān, whom Bāydū had killed at the request of Qūnchūqbāl, had two sons, Amīr Husain and Mūsāil⁹¹. When the sultān ascended the throne, they recounted their story. He delivered Qūnchūqbāl to them for retaliation and he had given his sister Ūljatāy Sultān to Amīr Husain - may he rest in peace -. And he sent them to Khurāsān to Khudābandah, for the mother of them both (Ūljatāy and Khudābandah) was Bulghān Buzurg, and the sultān was (born) of a concubine⁹².

Khwājah 'Alīshāh Tabrīzī was originally an agent who bought textiles for the emirs and the ladies, and he was also known to the vicegerents of Sultān Ūljatāy Khwātūn, so that every time goods and necessities were required, they referred to him and it was in that way that he entered their service. He was an illiterate man but he had a keen intellect and cunning, and when he was under protection of the ruler, he obtained a high rank.

And Sultān Ghāzān fell ill in the region of Qazwīn in the place called Pīshkalrūd⁹³. The doctors were unable to cure him and

88) RaD/Jahn II, p. 148-149 does not mention the courage of Amīr Chūbān but says that he received a rich reward.

89) In MS: Hūr'udāq.

90) RaD/Jahn II writes this name always: Maulāy.

91) RaD/Berezin p. 37 gives the name of a third son: Ūdūnjī.

92) According to RaD/Jahn I, p. 61, Ūrūk Khātūn was the mother of Ūljāytū (Khudābandah) and Ūljatāy. Ghāzān was a son of the concubine Qultāq Igāchī. From the marriage of Arghūn and Būlūghān Khātūn, only one daughter, Dilānjī, was born.

93) RaD/Jahn II, p. 159: Pīshkalah; several mss of RaD add -rūd.

in the year 703, on Sunday the 15th of Shawwāl (May 21, 1304) ⁹⁴ he died. He was thirty-two years of age.

And in the Dasht-i Qifchāq, Tūghtā' died in the same year ⁹⁵. He had a son named Īlbāšmīsh. And Qādāq ⁹⁶ was (p. 147) grand-emir and wished to instal Īlbāšmīsh on the throne after Ghāzān. Uzbek, the son of Tūlījah ⁹⁷, conspired in Khawārizm with Qutlugh Timūr, and pretending to pay their obsequies to the king, they entered the camp ("urdū") and Uzbek stabbed Īlbāšmīsh, and Qutlugh Timūr stabbed Qādāq at the same moment and they killed them both. And the reign passed into the hands of Uzbek and he ascended the seat of government.

R e i g n o f U z b e k K h ā n

This lasted for forty years in the Dasht-i Qifchāq ⁹⁸. His genealogy reads: Uzbek, son of Tūlījah, son of Mūnkā Timūr, son of Nūqāy, son of Bāṭūy, son of Jūjī, son of Jingiz Khān.

After the death of Ghāzān Khān, the emirs wrote a letter to Hūrghudāq, (asking him) to do away with Khudābandah and to bring Alafrank, the son of Gaiqātū, in order to place him on the throne. Amīr 'Alī Qūshchī was informed of that letter. He brought the news to Sulṭān Khudābandah during the night. That same night Alafrank was killed in his own house. And in the morning Hūrghudāq assembled an army and climbing up on a hill, he encouraged the army to line up. The sulṭān did not give him a chance, they charged at him and he was routed. He was pursued and seized by Maulāyad ⁹⁹ who brought him back. He was executed and the sulṭān came from Khurāsān and ascended the throne and graced the world with justice on the second of Dhū 'l-Hijjah (703 = July 6, 1304) ¹⁰⁰.

G o v e r n m e n t o f M u ḥ a m m a d K h u d ā b a n d a h

This lasted for twelve years and two and a half months. His title is: Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Muḥammad Khudābandah Ūljāy-

94) RaD/Jahn II, p. 159: the 11th of Shawwāl, which corresponds to the weekday.

95) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 84-85, based on Qāshānī, puts his death on August 9, 1312. Tiesenhausen I, p. 172 (al-Birzālī) has Rabī' I, 712 = July 7 - August 5, 1312.

96) Cf. Qādāq in Yuan che CVII, tableau 23.

97) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 85: Toḡrylḡa.

98) Uzbek reigned from 1312 till his death in 1341 or 1342 (Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 85-99; Grekov/Zolotaja Orda p. 90-94).

99) HA/Bayani p. 4-5: Maulāy.

100) HA/Bayani p. 7: in the middle of Dhū 'l-Hijjah; other dates given in D'Ohsson IV, p. 480 and Spuler/Iran p. 105.

tū' Sultān. He had six sons: Bāyazīd, Baṣṭām, Taifūr and Abū Sa'id. The first of them, Sulaimānshāh, died in childhood and 30 Sa'id was the second who came into the world ¹⁰¹.

In the year (p. 148) 704 (August 4, 1304 – July 23, 1305) he laid the foundation of Sultāniyyah ¹⁰². And also in the course of that year he set out for Jilān. There Amīr Qutlughshāh, together with Shaikh Barq, was put to death, and the sultān returned. The sons of Anbārchi, Isan Timūr and Qūnjī, were executed in the year ¹⁰³.

And Maulānā Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī died on Saturday the 10th of 'Āshūrā (710 = June 9, 1310) ¹⁰⁴. And Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn was in close contact with his majesty and was always in his presence.

The sultān set out to march to the district of Syria in the year (712 = May 9, 1312 – April 27, 1313) ¹⁰⁵ and he went to Raḥbah ^{105a}, besieged it, conquered it and left Pūlād-qiya there in the office of governor. And he returned and came to Sultāniyyah and went to Baghdād.

In the year 706 (July 13, 1306 – July 2, 1307) Sa'd al-Dīn Sāwajī, Shihāb al-Dīn Mubārakshāh, Yahyā, the son of Jalāl (al-Dīn) Tūrah, Zain al-Dīn Māstarī and Dāwudshāh ¹⁰⁶ were put to death in the Muḥawwal of Baghdād. The viziership was consigned to Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn and Khwājah Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh. And many laws have been observed bearing their joint signatures, that of Rashīd, the physician, being first and that of 'Alīshāh, the Tarkhān, being second ¹⁰⁷.

It is said that for many years the sultān used to go to Gāvbārī during the winter and that he used to be in Sultāniyyah in the summer. The country (was) flourishing and the army well organized. Sultān Ūljāytū and Ūljatāy Sultān, brother and sister, reigned, as it were, in condominium, for the sultān knew no command higher than her wish, and at one hint from Ūljatāy Sultān – may she rest

101) According to HA/Bayani p. 70 – 71 Ūljāytū had four sons: Baṣṭām (he died at the age of twelve years), Bāyazīd (he died when he was eight), Abū Sa'id and Taifūr (he died young), and two daughters: Daulandī or Dūlandī, and Sātī Bek. Cf. Yuan che CVII, p. 92.

102) Spuler/Iran p. 108: in 1307. Other years in D'Ohsson IV, p. 485 (the first day of 705 = July 24, 1305; 'Azzāwī I, p. 415: 709 = June 11, 1309 – May 30, 1310.

103) The year has been omitted in MS.

104) The date does not correspond to the weekday. Regarding the year see EI s.v., Brockelmann/GAL II, D. 274.

105) HA/Bayani p. 53 – 54; Mustaufī p. 598.

105a) In the MS written: R. ch. h.

106) Cf. Qāshānī, quoted in Blochet/Introduction p. 9 – 13 and in HA/Bayani p. 43 – 47, who gives these names in the following way: Sa'd al-Dīn Sāwajī, Mubārakshāh Sāwī, Zain al-Dīn Māstarī, Nāsir al-Dīn Yahyā, son of Jalāl al-Dīn Tabarī, and Dāwudshāh Nīkū Akhlāq.

107) For information about the "tarkhān's" (noblemen with special privileges, as for instance exemption from taxes), see Spuler/Iran p. 275 – 276. The meaning of the word "sūzī" in MS is not clear.

in peace -, Sultān Khudābandah - may he rest in peace -, gave the viziership to Khawājah 'Alīshāh. Abū Sa'īd was under the tutelage of Amīr Sewinj, the son of Shīshī Bakhshī. (p. 149) He (the king) sent him to Khurāsān in the year 714 (April 17, 1314 - April 6, 1315).

The sultān liked Amīr Husain very much, firstly because he was the son-in-law of the king ¹⁰⁸ and secondly because of all the emirs he was the most eminent and the highest in birth, and he was always in his company. And it is said that Īrinjīn, the brother of Bulghān Khātūn, who was the mother of the sultān, was in Rūm ¹⁰⁹.

The sultān spent the winter in Sultāniyyah. One day he went hunting and met with an accident. He died on Thursday the last day of Ramadān of the year 716 (December 16, 1316) ¹¹⁰. He was thirty-eight years and nine months old. Amīr Maḥmūd-i Tabrizī said in his elegy -verse-: "The death of the king of the horizons, Shāh Kharbandah, was in 716 on Friday the last day of the fast. If he was a man, it is my belief that the others are all a painting on the gate of the bath". The government passed to his son and he came from Khurāsān and ascended the throne.

R e i g n o f A b ū S a ' ī d B a h ā d u r K h ā n

This lasted for nineteen years. His title was 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn. He was born in the year 704 on the 8th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah (June 3, 1305). In the course of the year 717 (March 16, 1317 - March 4, 1318) ¹¹¹ he became king and ruled the world. And Ūljā' Qutlugh, the daughter of Sultān Ghāzān, was given to him ¹¹². He had a good knowledge of the Mongol and Persian script and wrote well. The time of his government was the best period of the domination of the Mongols.

Amīr Īrinjīn was in Rūm, Īsan Qutlugh in Khurāsān, the viziership was in the hands of (p. 150) Khawājah Rashīd and Khawājah 'Alīshāh, Chūbān was emir of the ūlūs, Alghū, the son of Buqā Yārghūchī, emir of the yārghū ¹¹³, Qurmishī was in Gurjistān, Sūtāy in Diyārbakr and Barzankī in Bāb al-Abwāb ¹¹⁴.

108) The wife of Amīr Husain, Ūljatāy, was a daughter of Arghūn.

109) According to Rad/Jahn I, p. 61, the mother of Sultān Ūljāytū was Ūruk Khātūn, who was a sister of Īrinjīn. See also note 92.

110) About other dates see Spuler/Iran p. 116; Qāshānī (in HA/Bayani p. 70) has: Thursday the 27th of Ramadān (date and weekday do not correspond).

111) Spuler/Iran p. 117; in the middle of April 1317.

112) Rad/Jahn II, p. 14; Ūljāy Qutlugh was the daughter of Ghāzān and Bulūghān Khātūn.

113) On the yārghū (High Court) see Spuler/Iran p. 381.

114) In MS: Bāb al-Bāb. The reading of the name Barzankī is uncertain.

And when (the news of) the death of the august Sultān Ūljāytū spread, Uzbek Khān coveted Īrān in his heart and made known his desires and set out with a vast army for that region. Passing through Darband he came to Shirwān which was plundered and finally he reached the bank of the river Kur. The tribe of Kūnī which was on the far side of the river and could not cross, fell prisoner to them. And on this side Sultān Abū Sa'īd and Amīr Chūbān, with all the emirs, went to the bank of the river. Both armies posted themselves on the banks of the river and fighting ensued and they fought with arrows. Finally, Uzbek returned in the year 718 (March 5, 1318 – February 21, 1319)¹¹⁵. The news reached Abū Sa'īd who sent several emirs to pursue him. They drove him past Darband. Thereupon they returned and settled in Qarābāgh in Arrān.

And it is said that Qurmishī did not join in that^{115a} battle. Amir Chūbān asked Abū Sa'īd to apply the code of Jingiz Khān. The yarlīgh was issued and he (Qurmishī) was thrashed several times. Qurmishī went from there to Gurjistān, started a rebellion and put one or two of the officials of Amīr Chūbān to death. When Amīr Chūbān discovered this, he went out with a small army on the pretext of going hunting. When he arrived at the castle of Dāq, in the neighbourhood of Lake Gökcheh¹¹⁶, he came upon Qurmishī who was armed, and they gave battle. The army of Amīr Chūbān was defeated and he himself fell from his horse. They held on to the horse, he leaped into the saddle and escaped. They engaged in mass slaughter and extensive plunder. Amīr Chūbān came to Nakhchawān and from there to Tabrīz.

Khwājah 'Alīshāh prepared an army in Tabriz and brought it to Chūbān, and from there they went to Sultāniyyah. Sultān Abū Sa'īd and Amīr Chūbān assembled troops from the surrounding districts in Sultāniyyah. Qurmishī (p. 151) sent somebody to enlist (the aid of) Īrinjīn. He joined him (Qurmishī) and his son Shaikh 'Alī was in the camp ("urdū") with the king; he was seized and detained. It may be that Īrinjīn repented for he came to his majesty, but with no avail. Qurmishī came in pursuit to Tabrīz and went to Ūjān. They drew up their ranks near Zangān¹¹⁷ and a large-scale battle took place. Shaikh 'Alī, the son of Amīr 'Alī Qūshchī, put up a gallant fight and was rewarded¹¹⁸. Qurmishī was defeated. They were routed and Sultān Abū Sa'īd fought well. On that day he earned the title "bahādur". And all those emirs were seized and

115) For this campaign see HA/Bayani p. 84 – 86; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 144 – 145; Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 93 – 94; D'Ohsson IV, p. 613.

115a) Small open space in MS.

116) In MS: Kūj.h D.k.t.r. According to Mīrkhwānd V, p. 166, the castle of Tāq and Gökcheh Deñiz were the winter quarters of Chūbān.

117) According to Mustaufī p. 605 at Zanjārūd near Miyānah.

118) Zenker p. 363; cildū = "don, faveur, récompense / Geschenk, Gunstbeweis, Belohnung (für Tapferkeit u.s.w.)".

brought in, and Shaikh 'Alī, the son of Īrinjīn, was killed before the battle. They executed Īrinjīn, Qurmishī, Wafādār Taramtās and Sanktās, the sons of Tās who were foster-brothers of Sultān Ghāzān ¹¹⁹, Aras and Tuqmāq, the sons of Takjāk, Abishghā and Yūsuf Bakā ¹²⁰ in Sultāniyyah in the course of the year 719 (February 22, 1319 – February 11, 1320).

Thereupon, because Abū Sa'īd was young, Chūbān acquired the full power of government and schemed vengeance on Uzbek Khān. He assembled an army and made for Shirwān and from there he split the army into two parts. Some of the emirs went from Darband to the bank of the river Terek; Amīr Chūbān with his sons approached via Gurjistān. Uzbek was informed of this and he fled from his place. And that (campaign) was (an example of) great bravery. They remained there for some time and returned again.

Chūbān subdued the whole world. He gave Rūm to Timūrtāsh and Amīr Husain had Khurāsān. There he died in the year (722 in Muharram = January 20 – February 18, 1322) ¹²¹. His coffin was brought to Tabrīz. He (Chūbān) sent Hasan there, he sent Shaikh Mahmūd to Gurjistān and executed Khawājah Rashīd in Tabrīz together with his son Khawājah Ibrahīm. And Hājji Dilqandī Khurāsānī (was killed) in Jumādā I of the year 718 (June 30 – July 29 1318) ¹²² (p. 152) at a hint from Amīr Chūbān. And Khawājah 'Alīshāh united in himself all power and he founded that building in Tabrīz ¹²³.

Timūrtāsh was in Rūm, he conquered several fortresses and raided the Turks of Qaramān ¹²⁴. When he became aware of his power in Rūm and conquered the fortresses, he started a rebellion and had his name written on the edge of the dirham of Abū Sa'īd. When Amīr Chūbān was informed of this, he set out immediately and from Rūm he brought Timūrtāsh before Sultān Abū Sa'īd saying: "He is a criminal – execute him". The sultān gave him (back) to his father.

Amīr Timūrtāsh was that year in the camp (urdū) and threatened Khawājah 'Alīshāh continually, saying: "Settle the money account with me". Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, (the son of) Rashīd, was his vicegerent and it is said that he used to urge him to request (settlement of) the account. However much Khawājah 'Alīshāh did his duty, it was of no avail. One day he said to Amīr Chūbān in

119) Their names are not mentioned in RaD/Jahn II.

120) In MS: Yūsuf Bakā, cf. HA/Bayani p. 103: Yūsuf Būkā. The readings Takjāk and Aras are uncertain.

121) As to the date, which is left open in MS, see Mustaufī p. 606 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 150.

122) HA/Bayani p. 89 – 90: Dilqandī was sent to Rūm by Chūbān shortly after the death of Rashīd al-Dīn and killed there by Timūrtāsh.

123) It is not clear which building is meant here.

124) darākhtan from ākhtan, "einen feindlichen Einfall machen" (Zenker p. 17). This word occurs also on page 168 of the MS.

Ūjān: "Your son wishes an account from me". He said: "Go and give it". He grew desperate seeing no way out there either and fell ill for several days and died in the course of the year 724 (December 30, 1323 – December 17, 1324) ¹²⁵. And it is said he ate something and perished.

The viziership was given to his brother Diyā' al-Mulk 'Ādil ¹²⁶. He received the title Šā'in-i Wazīr, but the government was in the hands of Dimishq Khwājah, the son of Amīr Chūbān, to do with it as he chose, and that poor fellow had nothing but the name ¹²⁷.

It was during his viziership that the power of Amīr Chūbān reached its zenith. Timūrtāsh went to Rūm and took that region (while) Shaikh Maḥmūd took Gurjistān, Ḥasan had Khurāsān, Tālāsh, the son of Ḥasan, was emir of Fārs and Kirmān, and Dimishq Khwājah had made Ādharbaijān and both 'Irāqs his private property. And Abū Sa'īd was only king in name, to such a degree that the vicegerents of Amīr Dimishq Khwājah said: "Abū Sa'īd does not spend anything on his dinner-table". He said: "Two birds suffice for him each day". Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn (p.153) 'Ibrī, Shams al-Dīn Albarghū ¹²⁸ and Ḥusām (al-Dīn) Bāwardī, among the learned men of that time, enjoyed friendship with him and he conversed with them.

Amīr Chūbān wandered about in the outer provinces and did not remain for a single week in the same place. And in the year 727 (November 27, 1326 – November 16, 1327) ¹²⁹ he had gone to Khurāsān, whereas hitherto he had spent alternate winters in Baghdād, and Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan Nūyān was in Qarābāgh. The whole of Ādharbaijān, Mūqān, Arrān and Shirwān was under his command.

The envoy of the Khān came from Khaṭāy by way of Uzbek Khān and the envoy of Uzbek Khān joined him. They came together to Baghdād and, having carried out their duties to the letter, they returned again. Amīr Chūbān sent them away via Hamadān and (travelling himself) via Suntai ¹³⁰ he arrived before them in Qarābāgh. When the envoys arrived, they saw Amīr Chūbān in Qarābāgh.

125) Spuler/Iran p. 287; HA/Bayani p. 115: he was the first vizier of the Mongolian period who died a natural death.

126) Thus in MS. After the death of Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, the viziership was given to his two sons, who soon lost it. Then Rukn al-Dīn Šā'in became vizier and received the title "Malik Nuṣrat (Nāṣir) al-Dīn 'Ādil. His grandfather was Diyā' al-Mulk Muḥammad bin Mawdūd (HA/Bayani p. 115 – 116; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 151; D'Ohsson IV, p. 655; Spuler/Iran p. 123, 196, 287).

127) The poor fellow may have been the vizier or Abū Sa'īd (cf. HA/Bayani p. 120 and 123, where the nominal power of the king is stressed).

128) The reading is uncertain.

129) HA/Bayani p. 121: at the end of the winter Chūbān proposed to Abū Sa'īd to take measures for the defence of Khurāsān; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 152.

130) This Suntay (in MS written Sunnatai) is probably identical with the pass ("aqabah") of Sūntāy, mentioned in Quatremère p. 264, and, perhaps, with the pass ("aqabah") of Sītāy (HA/Bayani p. 190, 192), and this again (?) with the pass of Sīnā (Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 216), lying near the origin of the Taghtū river.

He had completely arranged the winterquarters which astonished and amazed them. And when this news reached the Qān, the emirship of the four ulūses was assigned to him and his name was recorded in the four yarlīghs of Khatāy, Jaghatāy, the Dasht-i Qifchāq and the country of Īrān ¹³¹. And it is said that from there he raised the whole army of Kardartan ¹³². Together with Qūshṭai, his own vicegerents and the emirs, Ūkranj and others, he marched to Khurāsān.

Amīr Dimishq Khwājah, in the camp ("urdū"), ruled the whole world. And since all perfection must end and since bad conditions follow close upon the heels of good fortune, his work was destroyed. When something is complete, its decay is near. Verse: "Since this world knows no stability, a dervish is a sultān; since blessings must cease, a sultān is (but) a dervish". 'Alī Bāshāh Ūyrātī ¹³³, Kunjushkāf Khwātūn and Khwājah Lu'lu' ¹³⁴, together with the emirs who were in the court, uniting with the sultān marched against Amīr Dimishq Khwājah who was in the fortress of Sultāniyyah. He escaped (p.154) and took the road to Khurāsān. Miṣr Khwājah pursued him and caught up with him and killed him there on Monday the fifth of Shawwāl 728 (August 13, 1328) ¹³⁵. The sultān was very furious at this occurrence, (but) after all, it cannot be redressed.

Together with Hājjī Sūdī ¹³⁶, Husām al-Dīn Bāwardi, Shams al-Dīn Albarghū, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn had a hairbreadth escape. They plundered Chūbāniyā in the year 728 (November 17, 1327 – November 4, 1328) ¹³⁷.

When this news (viz. of Dimishq Khwājah's death) reached Chūbān, he levied an army to go to Sāwah, and Sultān Abū Sa'īd assembled an army in Sultāniyyah. Daulatshāh, the son of Alghū, was in Kurdistān and joined the sultān, together with other emirs commanding tūmān's and hazārah's. They assembled in great numbers and finally set out for Abhar. When the news reached Amīr Chūbān that the sultān came in order to fight, he said: "I have incurred an obligation not to draw sword against the throne of Hulāgū Khān". He sent Nīkrūz, the son of Nūrīn, with a message. When he arrived (at his destination) he did not return. The emirs came one by one and joined his majesty. Even Khwājah 'Alī, his (Chū-

131) According to HA/Bayani p. 121, envoys of the Qān presented to Chūbān in Herāt his nomination as chief of the nobles (amīr al-umara') of Īrān and Tūrān.

132) In MS: kardartan, meaning uncertain, place name?

133) In MS: 'yūrātī, ūyūrātī.

134) HA/Bayani, p. 123 – 124: Amīr Kunj.sh.kāb and Lu'lu'ghā or Lu'lu'.

135) In MS: 828.

136) The word before Hājjī Sūdī (= ? Sāvdi, cf. Sauvaget p. 48, no. 109) is probably to be read "bā".

137) It is not clear to whom the subject of this sentence refers, or what is meant by "Chūbāniyā" (place name?).

bān's) personal servant, fled from him. Amīr Chūbān returned to Khurāsān ¹³⁸. The sultān sent Hājji Taghāy with several emirs commanding hazārah's, such as Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad and others, to pursue him. It is said that Amīr Chūbān, being hard pressed, mounted a dromedary with his children and several servants who were with him and took flight until they arrived at the frontier of Māzandarān. There they agreed to go to Herāt to king Nāṣir al-Dīn ¹³⁹. Hasan said: "He is a deceitful man, and you know what his father has done with Naurūz; when Naurūz took refuge with him, he seized Naurūz and delivered him to be executed. It is not advisable to go to him". Amīr Chūbān said: "He is under agreement and on oath to me and has an innocent way of acting; we must necessarily go there". Hasan did his utmost but Amīr Chūbān paid no heed to him and set out in the direction of Herāt. With his son Tālash, Hasan left his father. Amīr Chūbān went with Jilaukhān, (p.155) Qūshtāy and Qarā Nīkpay ¹⁴⁰ to the fortress of Herāt. King Nāṣir al-Dīn killed them; Hasan and Tālash went via Khwārizm to Uzbek Khān and were put to death there ¹⁴¹. Dalaw Ghāzān ^{141a} seized Shaikh Maḥmūd in Aladāgh and brought him to Tabrīz where Tawakkul, the governor of the town, finally put him to death. Timūrtāsh went to Egypt, to Nāṣir, the sultān of Egypt, who imprisoned him, until Abū Sa'īd sent Zانبūr to bring him back ¹⁴². (Meanwhile) Nāṣir grew afraid and put him to death ¹⁴³. And when the (prominent) position of the Chūbānids came to an end, it is said that Amīr Chūbān killed Sā'in-i Wazīr at the moment that the news of (the death of) Dimishq reached him. Abū Sa'īd acquired absolute power.

The emirship of the ūlūs was assigned to Amīr Tāj al-Daulah wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan, the Anūshirwān of his time – may he rest in peace –, who was the highest in birth and a cousin of the sultān. The viziership was given to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Khwājah Rashīd, and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, and they received the titles "son of the keeper of the world" and "son of the asy-

138) HA/Bayani p. 131; D'Ohsson IV, p. 678; Spuler/Iran p. 124 – 125.

139) HA/Bayani p. 131 – 132; D'Ohsson IV, p. 680; Spuler/Iran p. 125 all have Ghiyāth al-Dīn.

140) HA/Bayani p. 133 gives their names in the forms: Jilāwkhān, Amīr Būstāy and Nīktāy Daulandī (Dūlandī); Mīrkhwānd V, p. 155: Jalādkhān, Nīkpay Daulandī (Dūlandī) or Daulatmandī. Jilāwkhān was the name of one of the ancestors of Chūbān (EI s.v. Suldūz).

141) HA/Bayani p. 135; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 156; D'Ohsson IV, p. 685 – 686: they entered the service of Uzbek Khān and died shortly after.

141a) Reading Dalaw is uncertain. According to Zenker p. 433 "dālāw" in eastern Turkish means "chameau; fou".

142) Other sources call the envoy Abājī (HA/Bayani p. 138; 'Azzāwī I, p. 403 – 404) or Ayājī (Mīrkhwānd V, p. 156. Amīr Zانبūr is mentioned in Mustaufī p. 604.

143) D'Ohsson IV p. 698 (based on Maqrīzī) puts his death on August 22, 1328.

lum of the world". Khurāsān was given to Nārīn Taghāy and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad was sent with him. Rūm was given to Muḥammad Bek, the brother of 'Alī Bāshāh, and Baghdād and that area to 'Alī Bāshā. Gurjistān was given to Iqbālshāh, the son of Qutlughshāh, and Darband was given to Aqanjī while Diyārbakr was assigned as before to Sūtāy. The world prospered and the army was in good order. The people devoted themselves to joy and pleasure. Ādharbai-jān had become a flourishing paradise and, as they used to say -verse-: "It is the time of Sultān Bū Sa'īd. Enjoy yourself! O God, preserve this lord".

The sultān enjoyed the friendship of the virtuous and learned men and he also wrote poems. These two verses were written by him. They may be quoted as examples. (The first reads) -verse-: "As compared with the pure substance of God who has made me king, the joy and grief of the world are, when you consider them, (as the) wind". The second reads: "He (God) has made the creed of Islām my portion, which is a source of joy to the pure souls of all believers. (p.156) Come to the Egypt of my heart, that you may see the Damascus of the soul, for the wish of my heart is in the air of Baghdād".

In the year 729 (November 5, 1328 - October 24, 1329) Nārīn Taghāy was insubordinate in Khurāsān. He was brought to Sultāniyyah and was executed together with Tāshitimūr, the son of Kūnjī¹⁴⁴; and Khurāsān was given to Shaikh 'Alī, the son of Amīr 'Alī Qūshchī, and Rūm to prince Maḥmūd Īsan Qutlugh. Muḥammad Bek was dismissed. The government was in the hands of Abū Sa'īd and the emirship in those of Amīr Tāj al-Millat wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, (the son of) Rashīd, had so much influence over the mind of the sultān that all decisions were in his hands. The verdicts of the yārghū and the financial administration of the Mongols and Tājīks¹⁴⁵ were under his control.

In the course of the year 732 (October 4, 1331 - September 21, 1332) (seeds of) suspicion were sown between the sultān and the factious emir¹⁴⁶, (because it was said) that he and Khudāwandkār Baghdād¹⁴⁷, the daughter of Amīr Chūbān had conspired and had planned an attempt on the life of the king. One named Īrmūkī Īrāghal was the originator of this intrigue and in its progress from mouth to mouth it reached Amīr Aḥmad Rashīd. He repeated it to his majesty and the sultān was very angry at this occurrence. He sent Amīr Tāj al-Daulah wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan to Rūm and he was there for one year.

144) gōncī or kōncī means, according to Zenker p. 779, in eastern Turkish: tanner.

145) At that period Tājīks is used for the non-Mongolian population.

146) = Shaikh Hasan Buzurg, although it is strange that the author calls the father of his patron "factious" (ṣāhib-i-aghrāḍ).

147) Usually called Baghdād Khātūn.

And the sultān stayed that winter in Tabrīz and sent Sūrghān, the son of Amīr Chūbān, with his mother Sātī Bek, his own (viz. the sultān's) sister, to Qarābāgh. And in the year 733 (September 22, 1332 – September 11, 1333) the king sent to Baghdād and gave Qarābāgh to Muḥammad Bek Qūshchī, the son of Bāytīmīs Qūshchī.

In the year 731 (October 15, 1330 – October 3, 1331) Anūshirwān Khātūn, the daughter of Amīr Shaikh 'Alī, the son of Amīr Husain – may they both rest in peace –, was given to Dīnī Bek, the son of Uzbek Khān, and she was sent to the Dasht-i Qifchāq, suitably adorned. And in the same year the sultān went to Baghdād (p.157) and remained there for the winter. In the spring, he came to Sultāniyyah. And in the year (7)34 (September 12, 1333 – August 31, 1334) he had promoted Īnāq Musāfir¹⁴⁸, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad had given his sister Shāhī Khwātūn to him and placed his name in the yarlīgh. In the winter he went again to Baghdād and sent a yarlīgh that Amīr Shaikh Hasan should go to Gurjistān. The emir went there and Sūrghān was in Qarabāgh. Kūrakī Malik¹⁴⁹ came to the court of Amīr Tāj al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan and he served to the best of his ability. And again there was issued an order from the king that the whole of Rūm should belong to Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan and that he should proceed there.

The emirs who were in the camp were suspicious on account of the close relationship between Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Īnāq Musāfir. Prince Maḥmūd Īsan Qutlugh, Sultānshāh Nīkrūz, Muḥammad Bek Qūshchī, Artanā, Maḥmūdshāh Īnjū and Muḥammad Pīltan¹⁵⁰ one day conspired and went to the gate of the palace in Sultāniyyah. They wished to seize those two persons, the vizier and Musāfir, and to execute them and they had put on their armours. The vizier perceived this and he and Musāfir entered the apartment of the king. The emirs went to the door of the king and submitted their request, sending in (a message) saying: "We are the servants of the sultān, but he should deliver unto us our enemies". The sultān became angry. He summoned the emirs, who were in the camp. When they saw that there was a great multitude at the king's door, they took flight. They were all arrested and brought before the sultān. He sent each of them to a fortress, except Artanā who went straight to Amīr Shaikh Hasan. The emir (Ghiyāth al-Dīn) sent an envoy requesting the blood of Artanā from the sultān, who pardoned him (however) and he went together with the emir to Rūm.

Thereupon there was a rumour concerning the army of Uzbek. The

148) HA/Bayani p. 142: Musāfir Īnāq.

149) The reading of Kūrakī is uncertain.

150) HA/Bayani p. 142 – 143 divides the name Maḥmūd Īsan Qutlugh (i.e. Maḥmūd, son of Īsan Qutlugh) into Amīr Maḥmūd and Amīr Īsan Qutlugh. The reading of the name Artanā seems uncertain (Spuler/Iran p. 134: Eretna).

king decreed that the whole army of Baghdād and Diyārbakr ^{150a} should go that year to Arrān and should stay at the Aqsū.

The sultān followed to Qarābāgh (p. 158) and he was ("fell") ill for several days. In Rabī' I of the year 736 (October 19 – November 17, 1335) he strode to the world of eternity. Ūk-ranj, Urtūqshāh, the son of Alqū, Sūrghān and Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad came to an agreement. Since there was nobody among the offspring of Hūlāgū (to succeed him) in accordance with the custom of the Mongols, they brought Arpā Gawun and placed him on the throne and the world came under his command.

R e i g n o f A r p ā K h ā n

This lasted for six months ¹⁵¹. When he ascended the throne, he freed the emirs whom the august sultān (Abū Sa'īd) had imprisoned in the fortresses. He used the Mongol code and administration and did not pay attention to the yarlīgh of Sultān Khudābandah and Abū Sa'īd which was presented to him. He used to say..... And (when) the yarlīgh of Sultān Ghāzān was presented to him, he used to say and he acted in conformity with that ¹⁵². He was a Mongol, very clever and intelligent, but he used to give all the possessions there were to the army.

In Rabī' I of the same year (October 19 – November 17, 1335) Baghdād Khātūn was killed for the reason that she corresponded with Uzbek Khān and persuaded him to come to Īrān ¹⁵³. And when (the news of) the death of Sultān Abū Sa'īd reached the Dasht-i Qifchāq, Uzbek Khān grew covetous ("shook the bell of greed") and set out again to Īrān, passing through Darband and arriving at the bank of the Kur. And Arpā Khān, too, brought his army to the bank of the river and they posted themselves opposite one another and fought for several days with arrows. In that year there was a scarcity of rain and there was not sufficient grass for their large numbers (of horses), and no possibility of crossing. Uzbek Khān came onto the bank of the river and struck with his sword on the water, saying: "You are valiant". The army returned again and marched off. Arpā Khān sent Shaikh Chūbān, Hājjī Hamzah and

150a) In MS written: Diyārbīk.

151) His name is written Arpāy Gāwun or Kāwun in HA/Bayani p. 145 – 151; Kāwun or Gawun (see EI s.v. Tughā Timūr: 'Alī-gawun) occurs in the MS above in Arpā Gawun, and in 'Alī Gawun. Spuler/Iran p. 128–129: Arpa Hān.

152) Although there is an open space only in the first sentence, it may be inferred from the parallelism of both sentences that in the second also something has been omitted.

153) HA/Bayani p. 146 puts this in the end of Rabī' II.

Khamārī ^{153a} in pursuit with several emirs, and the army of Duqduq ¹⁵⁴ passed through Darband. (p.159) They ascended the mountain of Shirwān and joined the king again; and he resided in Qarābāgh ¹⁵⁵.

In the middle of Rajab (beginning of March 1336) ¹⁵⁶ Mahmūd-shāh Īnjū, a deceitful man, was executed. He had evinced distrust of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, with regard to the viziership. And they had compelled Sāṭī Bek to marry Arpā Khān ^{156a}. When Arpā Khān ascended the throne, he sent Sulaimān Bahādur to the court of Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Ḥasan – may he rest in peace – and he restored his name, together with the title of emir of the ulūs, in the yarlīgh, (giving him precedence) over the (other) emirs, saying: "He is of noble birth and the others are afraid. Without him the realm cannot be governed". And he sent many presents.

'Alī Bāshāh was in Baghdād, he started ^{156b} a rebellion and found one named Mūsā, of the children of Bāydū ¹⁵⁷, whom he placed on the throne. And he gave the sermon ("khuṭbah") and struck coins in his name in Baghdād. He sent a message to Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Ḥasan, saying: "I am in allegiance with the king; I am his servant. If this succeeds, his protection may bring joy" ¹⁵⁸.

On the 14th of Ramadān of the year 736 (April 26, 1336) ¹⁵⁹, on Wednesday, a battle took place on the bank of the Jaghātū between 'Alī Bāshāh and Arpā Khān. On Arpā Khān's side were sixty emirs, (each) commanding a hazārah, for the whole army of Īrān was in Arrān, (while) on 'Alī Bāshāh's side were not (even) ten thousand men. When they stood opposite one another, the emirs whom Sultān Abū Sa'īd had imprisoned and Arpā had released, such as Mahmūd Īsan Qutluḡ and Sultānshāh Nīkrūz, all went over to the side of 'Alī Bāshāh. And Ūkranj remained in his own place and made no endeavour. Arpā, on seeing that, took flight and 'Alī Bāshāh gained the victory and sent in pursuit the army which plundered extensively. And the kingship was assigned to him.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad was arrested with his nephew Amīr Sultān ¹⁶⁰, Jālajīn Bahādur and Māzūq-i Yūrtjī ¹⁶¹ and they were

153a) The exact reading of this name is uncertain.

154) Reading is uncertain. This is probably the same name as Duqd.q and D.q.d.qī on p. 178 and 179 of the MS.

155) Regarding this campaign see Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 95 – 96.

156) HA/Bayani p. 147.

156a) Literally: brought her into the snare (of marriage).

156b) The verb has been omitted in the MS.

157) He was a son of 'Alī, son of Bāydū (HA/Bayani p. 149; Spuler/Iran p. 128; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 160 calls him a son of Bāydū).

158) I think this must be the meaning of this rather vague sentence.

159) In MS: 836. HA/Bayani p. 149 has Wednesday the 17th of the same month. In neither of the two does the weekday correspond with the date.

160) HA/Bayani p. 150 and D'Ohsson IV, p. 622 call him: his brother Pīr (Bīr) Sultān.

161) Or to be read Māzūf? The correct reading of Jālajīn is not certain either.

executed. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad was brought before 'Alī Bāshāh, 'Alī Bāshāh rose and gave a place higher than his own to the vizier. And shouting began among the emirs: "It is he who has brought all anarchy to the Mongols, and yet (p. 160) he occupies a still higher seat". Thereupon 'Alī Bāshāh said: "Ḥājjī Muḥammad, allow me (to say) that after the decease of Abū Sa'īd, you placed Arpā on the throne without sending any message or sign to us; and that for six months afterwards, you sent us no letter". He said: "I wished to do so (viz. to communicate with you) when Abū Sa'īd was alive. Afterwards I gave up my intention because Arpā did not pay attention to our word". And he continued in that vein. 'Aṭā' Malik was present and said: "O lord, if these words are true, it may be necessary ^{161a} that you will be released on the grounds of weakness and compulsion". He (the accused) did not pay any attention to this. He looked at 'Alī Bāshāh and said: "Three things I propose to the emir". And he swore an oath saying: "As far as I am concerned these three proposals are of equal merit. The first is that my father has built a mansion; allow me to go there and to pass (my days) with pious works in that remote place as expiation for my past sins. The second is that you reappoint me in my office in order that you may see my courage, activity and ability respecting my kingdom. The third: do whatever you intend". 'Alī Bāshāh bowed his head. The emirs seized him (Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad), brought him outside and killed him.

Rukn Harawī has said: "It is the time that the stars which are to-day at their height descend through the injustice of the wheel (of fortune). The angels of the blue firmament tear the robes they wear, as (does) the morning. They begin to cry help! help! They utter plaintive sighs and lamentations, because a minister of such greatness has been so basely killed". He (the poet) wrote this with regard to the sultān and the vizier. "The group which, with its wealth and pleasure, robs the hat from the sun and the moon, conquers fortresses with the thrust of the spear and breaks shackles with the nib of the pen, (p. 161) has been erased from the table of existence, as though that people had never existed".

'Alī Bāshā and Mūsā Khān came to Ūjān and took up the government. And they seized Arpā in Sultāniyyah and brought him in. They delivered him to Muḥammad, the son of Maḥmūdshāh Īnjū, that he might kill him in revenge for the blood of his father ¹⁶². The world received another foundation and another appearance.

161a) The word "darā", meaning "necessary", hardly fits in this sentence, and has probably been written here by mistake.

162) HA/Bayani p. 151: Arpā was arrested in the province of Sijās and killed on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwāl 736 (May 15, 1336); see also Spuler/Iran p. 129.

R e i g n o f M ū s ā K h ā n

This lasted for four months ¹⁶³. He had no other names. The government was in the hands of 'Alī Bāshāh. The viziership was given to Maḥmūd, the son of Amīr 'Alī Kurd ¹⁶⁴, and in the yar-līgh of the king and in the altamghā' of the vizier was written: Amīr Shaikh Hasan, Ūkranj ¹⁶⁵, Urtūqshāh and Maḥmūd Īsan Qutluḡ. When 'Alī Bāshāh had settled in Ūjān, he sent Sultānshāh Nīkrūz to plunder the quarter of Rashīd ¹⁶⁶. Some of the emirs who were there came to 'Alī Bāshā and some more set out for Amīr Shaikh Hasan. First Hājjī Taghāy, son of Sūtāy, assembled with his sons and brothers around Amīr Tāj al-Daulah wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan, together with Hājjī Tūghnāk and Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad and they urged the emir to fight. He did not agree and answered: "There is an agreement between us, I do not (wish to) do wrong and I will reconcile you with him". And he sent his atābek ^{166a} Tāshtimūr Āqā. When he reached 'Alī Bāshā in Ūjān, he saw that things were different. Power had turned the head of 'Alī Bāshāh and he did not care for the country and he had forgotten that agreement, to which he no longer paid any attention. He arrested him (Tāshtimūr Āqā) who sent some one secretly to the emir (to tell him) that he should know that circumstances had changed and that he should come.

When the news arrived, the emir immediately ordered a child called Pīr Ḥusain, of the family of Anbārchī ¹⁶⁷, to be brought, and he (this child) was named Muḥammad Khān and he ascended the throne on the day of 'Īd-i Qurbān (the Festival of Sacrifices), (July 20, 1336) according to the custom of the Mongols.

And Sūrghān Nūyān also (p. 162) turned to the emir, and they set out for Īrān and the capital. 'Alī Bāshāh, Mūsā Khā(n), his brother Muḥammad Bek, Ūkranj, Urtūqshāh, Maḥmūd Īsan Qutluḡ and Sultānshāh Nīkrūz set out from Tabrīz for Aladāq and they met in Qarādarah ¹⁶⁸ and drew up their lines. On one side, Amīr Tāj al-

163) Regarding Mūsā Khān, see HA/Bayani p. 148 - 156; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 160 - 165; Spuler/Iran p. 128 - 130; Howorth III, p. 637 - 640.

164) According to HA/Bayani p. 152, the position of vizier was given to Jamāl Hājjī, son of Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Shirwānī; Spuler/Iran p. 288 calls him Jamāl al-Dīn Hājjī, son of Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh.

165) Cf. Igrāndj in EI s.v. Tughā Timūr.

166) Called in this place in the MS: shahristān-i Rashīdī. Shahristān: fortifications round a city, or a large fortified city (Steingass).

166a) Atābek ("father-lord"), originally a guardian or teacher, later became an honorary title.

167) HA/Bayani p. 152 calls him: Muḥammad bin Yūlqutluḡ bin İltīmūr bin Anārjī etc.; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 161 gives his decent as follows; Muḥammad bin Qutluḡ bin Amīr Timūr bin Anbārchī bin Mankū Timūr bin Hulāgū Khān.

168) EI s.v. Hasan Buzurg; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 161: the battle of Qarādarah took place on the 14th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah 736 (July 24, 1336). Spuler/Iran p. 129 writes Qarrādā ("Neustadt von Alatāg").

Dīn Shaikh Hasan stood in the centre, the right wing was (formed by) Hājjī Taghā', the left (by) Sūrghān, and on this side Hājjī 'Alī Bāshāh stood opposite Hājjī Taghāy, with Mūsā Khān and Muḥammad Bek in the centre, and on the right wing opposite Sūrghān stood Ūkranj, and a fierce battle was fought. 'Alī Bāshāh defeated Hājjī Taghāy and Ūkranj defeated Sūrghān, (but) Amīr Shaikh Hasan, Amīr İlkan, Qarā Hasan and Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad were in the forefront. They attacked and defeated Mūsā Khān and pursued 'Alī Bāshāh and routed him also. The army of Hājjī Taghāy had gone. He himself returned with several servants and Sūrghān also came back. He defeated Ūkranj and they set out in pursuit. They took 'Alī Bāshāh prisoner and the emir (Shaikh Hasan) took up position on a hill. They brought 'Alī Bāshāh and executed him. And the world passed to Amīr Shaikh Hasan and he assumed the government in Muḥarram of the year 737 (August 10 - September 8, 1336). The world was adorned with his justice and equity. And the king sent to all sides a yarlıgh and dispatches announcing victory, and the populace of the districts turned to his majesty and his imperial majesty established himself in Tabrīz.

R e i g n o f M u ḥ a m m a d K h ā n

This lasted for two years. The government and the sovereignty were under the control of Amīr Shaikh Hasan. The viziership was given to Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Zakariyā, son of Shams al-Dīn Ḥusain ¹⁶⁹ and to Mas'ūdshāh, son of Maḥmūdshāh Īnjū, and he (Shaikh Hasan) married Dilshād Khātūn, daughter of Amīr (p. 163) Dimishq Khwājah. The world received a different order and a finer splendour. All the emirs came to his majesty and were honoured with various fiefs, except Mişr Khwājah who was killed in revenge for Amīr Dimishq Khwājah.

The emir (Shaikh Hasan) was that winter in Tabrīz. Ūkranj and prince Maḥmūd deserted, Hājjī Taghāy went to Diyārbakr, Amīr Sūrghān went to Qarābāgh, Hājjī Tūghānak went to Baghdād with Nuşrat Harāmī, Amīr Qarā Hasan went to the Ūyrats. Mūsā Khān, Muḥammad Bek, Yādkār and Hāfiẓ had come together and drew up their lines on the bank of the Āqsū, which is near the oil ^{169a}. Before Dizak and Bāy Quṭb al-Dīn ¹⁷⁰ joined him, Qarā Hasan hastened to fight. He was defeated and Pīr Mūsā, his brother, was killed in the

169) HA/Bayani p. 154 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 161 call this vizier: Shams al-Dīn Zakariyā, son of Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Dāmghānī; Spuler/Iran p. 288.

169a) For information about the oil-production see for instance Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 198 (transl.) and Yāqūt I, p. 477.

170) I am not sure about the reading of either name.

middle of the river. And he (Qarā Hasan) was routed and came as far as the Jaghātū. The Ūyrats went to Baghdād. Hājjī Tūghānak and Nuṣrat Bāshā gave battle with them (but) were defeated. Having been defeated they were both taken prisoner and killed.

A large number assembled around them (viz. the Ūyrats) again and in Khurāsān, Shaikh 'Alī, the son of Amīr 'Alī Qūshchī, placed Tughāytimūr Gawun on the throne. He struck coins and gave the sermon ("khutbah") in his name and he aimed at seizing the throne of Īrān, and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad was his vizier. Ūkranj joined him and Maḥmūd Īsan Qutluḡ and the Ūyrats made them agree to join each other.

Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan set out in their direction from Mūqān. They met in Sūrlūq ¹⁷¹ and Hājjī Taghāy came with his army from Diyārbakr and they gave battle in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah of the year 738 (May 22 - June 20, 1338) ¹⁷². The Ūyrats and Shaikh 'Alī were defeated. Some of them went to Baghdād and others to Khurāsān and the (conquering) army set out in pursuit, plundering camp and baggage. Qarā Hasan took Mūsā Khān prisoner, brought him in and he was executed ¹⁷³. Both Ūkranj and Maḥmūd were seized and imprisoned. The Kurds killed Muḥammad Bek with his wife Qutluḡ Malik, (who) was the daughter of Gaikhātū. Arghūnshāh, son of Naurūz, (p. 164) son of Arghūn Aqā ¹⁷⁴, killed Shaikh 'Alī in Khurāsān and sent his head to the camp ("urdū").

The whole government and the emirship of the country of Īrān came under the independent sovereignty of Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan -may he rest in peace-. He gave Diyārbakr to Hājjī Taghāy, and Artanā served in Rūm, where the emir (Shaikh Hasan) had appointed him vicegerent when he set out to take the throne. In that way he assigned Rūm to him. He (Shaikh Hasan) gave Sharūr and Dwīn ^{174a}, as far as Nakhchawān, to Hājjī Bek, son of Akjī; (the area) from the approach to Qarābāgh to the entrance to Gurjistān to Amīr Sūrghān; Shirwān and the tūmān of the frontier-guard to Shaikh Chūbān, the son of Aqanjī; Mūghān and the hazārah of Bārūm to his own son-in-law Yūsufshāh; Khurāsān, from the gates of Rayy and Qazwīn as far as the river Amūyah to Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad and the kingdom of Fārs and Shīrāz to Mas'ūdshāh, son of Maḥmūdshāh Īnjū. On the same day he went to the place where his brother

171) RaD/Jahn usually writes the uncontracted form Sūghūrlūq.

172) Other works such as HA/Bayani p. 155 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 162 have 737, which complies more logically with the short duration of Mūsā's reign.

173) HA/Bayani p. 156: on the 10th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah (July 10, 1337).

174) Cf. EI s.v. Tughā Timūr for information about the descent of Arghūnshāh.

174a) Regarding Dwīn, see EI s.v.; Sharūr is the area to the south-east of Dwīn (Hübschmann, p. 362).

Kaikhusrāu was and he had defaulted in his payments ¹⁷⁵. And he (Shaikh Hasan) gave the tūmān of Mubārak, the brother of Yīgāntimūr ¹⁷⁶, to Hājjī Hamzah; the tūmān of Harbatān ^{176a} and Lur-i Kūchik to Shaikh 'Alī, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad, and Baghdād and (the area of) the Ūyrāts to Qarah Hasan.

When he (viz. Shaikh Hasan) went there, he desired the daughter of Muḥammad Bek, the brother of 'Alī Bāshāh, who was a prince, and his rank reached the highest degree and his fame spread throughout the world. And that winter he entered Mūqān and settled in Yedi Tepeh ¹⁷⁷, taking a new place for encampment in the year 739, and it was Ṣafar (August 19 – September 16, 1338) when he took up residence there.

At the same time a battle took place in Khurāsān between Tuḡhāytimūr and Arghūnshāh (on one side) and Shaikh Muḥammad Maulāyad (on the other) and they defeated him and took him prisoner together with his two sons, Amīr 'Alī and Amīr Muḥammad, and put them to death. When this news reached the camp ("urdū"), the emir wished to set out for that region in the spring of that year and to take revenge.

Shaikh Hasan, the son of Timūrtāsh, and his brothers were in Rūm in the fortress of Qarah Hiṣār, (but) Artanā suspected them and wanted him to come to the camp ("urdū"). But he (Shaikh Hasan) reflected on this and started a rebellion. And he found a poor Mongol, called Qarah ¹⁷⁸, (p. 165) who was originally a servant of Hājjī Hamzah, and he called him Timūrtāsh, saying: "He is my father who was in prison in Egypt but escaped and came here". He gave him both Daulat Khwātūn and Kaltūrmīsh Khātūn, who was the wife of his father. And the rumour of this spread throughout the districts and he sent Akhī 'Uthmān, the brother of Daulat Khātūn, to the camp and he requested from the women of Timūrtāsh (a token of) relationship ¹⁷⁹. The riotous elements and desperados gathered round him from all sides ¹⁸⁰.

175) The connection of this sentence with what preceeds is not clear.

176) In MS: Bīkāntamūr (?). Cf. eastern Turkish "yīkan", meaning "neveu" and "natte, jones" (Zenker p. 979).

176a) Derived from Mongolian "harban", meaning "ten" ? Cf. Yuan che CVII, p. 39 (Harbatu and Harbatāi).

177) "Seven Hills", name of a hill, lying two or three kilometers to the east of the river Terter in the Caucasus, on its northern bank (information kindly given by Prof. Minorsky).

178) His name is given in the MS as Qarah and Qarah Jumrī (Turkish gümri or gimri means: "poor, mean", in the plural "rabble"; Zenker p. 366). HA/Bayani p. 156 and 158 writes J.rī. Cf. Quatremère p. 226.

179) ūrūkluk. Cf. eastern Turkish "ūrūq", meaning "tribu, famulle, suite d'un prince, camp du prince" (Zenker p. 119). This sentence and the next one (written, as is most of this page, in a different hand) are corrupt. "dubān" in the MS probably stands for "zanān".

180) I do not know what to read instead of "awānī". "dāshtan" probably stands for "dāshtand".

Amīr Shaikh Hasan (Buzurg), together with his son Ilkan, Sūrghān and Hājji Taghāy proceeded to (join) that (viz. their) army. He gave the office of governor of Tabrīz to Pīr Husain, the son of Shaikh Maḥmūd, son of Chūbān, and they met in Aladāq and drew up their lines. On the left wing was Amīr Hājji Taghāy, and Hājji Bek and Ilkān ¹⁸¹ attacked them and defeated their right wing and routed them. And on the right wing was Yūsufluq ¹⁸² with the army of the Ungūts and Shaikh 'Alī with the tūmān of Harbatān ¹⁸³ and the tribe of 'Anbarchī, and Yūsufshāh with the tribe of Bārūm, and Ungūt Ījkūn went away. Tūdān, the son of Shaikh Maḥmūd, was on the left wing; he made a charge on them, and defeated them and put them to flight. Defeat came to the army of the emir – nay, to the kingdom of Ādharbaijān. And from that day until to-day, now that the victorious banners and the royal parasol of the great sultān, the supreme king of kings, who strengthens the world and the religion ("Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn") (Uwais) ¹⁸⁴ – may God perpetuate his kingdom and power –, have come into that region, the people have known neither rest nor ease. The emir (Shaikh Hasan) returned from the army and coming to Tabrīz he remained hidden for several days.

Muḥammad Khān, Bū Muslim Khurāsānī and Muḥammad Khāzin were taken prisoner and brought before the bogus Timūrtāsh, who put all three to death. Shaikh Hasan Kūchik had gone in pursuit of Hājji Taghāy and had concluded a treaty and agreement with him. Prior (p. 166) to his return, Hājji Bek, the son of Hasan, son of Amīr Chūbān, had said to Qarah Jumrī: "Shaikh Hasan Kūchik has conquered the world, and he will try to kill you next; as soon as he comes, do away with him". When Shaikh Hasan arrived, Qarah Jumrī drew his sword and tried to kill him. Shaikh Hasan fled away, and Qarah came from there to Tabrīz. The children of Amīr Chūbān (viz.) Amīr Sūrghān and Malik Ashraf were in Tabrīz.

Ushtur Qarā Hasan came with the army of the Ūyrāts to Ūjān. The news of the defeat of the emir reached him but he stayed his ground. The emir went from Tabrīz to Ūjān with Amīr Ilkān and all his friends ¹⁸⁵, relatives and the Jalāyirs, and they came again in Tabrīz. The Chūbānids departed. Dilshād Khwātūn was in Tabrīz and she joined the emir. The emir took a gloomy view of things in the country and went to Sultāniyyah whereas the Chūbānids again

181) In MS written: Ailkān (as above: Ailkan).

182) The correct reading is uncertain.

183) In this case written with -t-. Cf. note 176a.

184) The name of Uwais has been omitted in the MS.

185) This word, occurring in a slightly different form (īrwākhtā') on p. 177 of the MS, must be the same as "īrākhtah", mentioned in RaD/Blochet p. 189, and Blochet/Introduction p. 138 with the meaning of "friend".

joined Shaikh Hasan Kūchik. In Warzuqān, Hājjī Khātūn, the mother of the august Sultān Abū Sa'īd, and Sātī Bek was installed on the throne and obeyed ¹⁸⁶.

R e i g n o f S ā t ī B e k

This lasted for nine months. The vizirate was given to Amir Muḥammad 'Alīshāh ¹⁸⁷, and the office of emir to Sūrghān, Shaikh Hasan Kūchik, 'Alī Ūkranj and Urdūbuqā, the nephew of Nīkrūz. And they went to Sultāniyyah and made peace with Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan, on condition that he should follow them to Qarābāgh. When the emir saw their conduct, he saw no advantage in friendship (with them). He remained during the winter in Sultāniyyah. From Khurāsān, Tughāytimūr and Arghūnshāh sent a messenger to say: "If the emir gives a sign, we shall come to him". The emir sent Yūsufshāh, who brought Tughāytimūr and Arghūnshāh, and he concluded an agreement with them to repel the Chūbānids.

Qarah Hasan was with his army in the region of Marāghah and he made for Tabrīz. Pīr Husain was in Tabrīz. (p. 167) They gave battle in Dih Khārrakān ¹⁸⁸. Pīr Husain was on the point of being routed. Salgharshāh, the son of Chūbān, arrived and, making a charge on the army of Qarah Hasan, he defeated it. He went to Sultāniyyah. 'Alī Pīltan, who was with him, was taken prisoner, and some were killed and that place was plundered.

When it was spring, the two armies met. And (when) there were still two or three days journeying left before the armies came up against each other, Shaikh Hasan (the son of) Timūrtāsh sent a letter to the emir (Shaikh Hasan Buzurg) saying: "We are all servants and Sultān Sātī Bek is your sister and relative, (while) Tughāytimūr is a foreigner. It is not at all advisable to bring him into the country, and we are under the obligation of the same agreement and oath that we have sworn, and we are by our honour bound to keep it ¹⁸⁹.

Since the emir was no longer on friendly terms with the Khurāsānians, he decamped one night and in the morning he joined the Chūbānids. Tughāytimūr and Arghūnshāh returned, taking flight ¹⁹⁰. Shaikh Hasan Kūchik came to the court of the emir and brought

186) I think Hājjī Khātūn and Sātī Bek belong together, and instead of "mother" we should read "sister".

187) HA/Bayani p. 158 mentions as viziers: Rukn al-Dīn Shaikhī Rashīdī and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Alīshāh; Spuler/Iran p. 288.

188) See Schwarz VIII, p. 1148 (Dāharrakān); Le Strange p. 164 (Dih Khuwārkan and Dākharrakān).

189) Literally: it makes us honoured.

190) HA/Bayani p. 161: in Dhū 'l-Hijjah 739 (June 10 - July 8, 1339); D'Ohsson IV, p. 732; Spuler/Iran p. 132.

presents and they were together for some days. (But) as the emir perceived that the fire of their oppression was ablaze and everyone revolted, he made from there to Baghdād and said to the vicegerents: "This band has no mercy with the Muslims, it is better to be far away". He went away.

Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh came to Ūjān and found someone called Ilyās, who is reported as having been one of the children of Sūkā. He gave him the name Sulaimān Khān ¹⁹¹ and placed him on the throne.

R e i g n o f S u l a i m ā n K h ā n

This lasted for four years. He (Shaikh Hasan Kūchik) struck coins and gave the sermon in Tabrīz in his name, and he had Sātī Bek married to him.

Shaikh Hasan Kūchik spent that winter in Sultāniyyah. He sent Pīr Husain to Shīrāz where he went (accordingly). Muhammad Bek, son of Mahmūdshāh Īnjū, he put to death and entered Shīrāz ¹⁹². (p.168) And Sūrghān went to Qarābāgh with Malik Ashraf, who had been given the tūmān of Aqanjī. And again a battle took place between Amīr Tāj al-Daulah wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan – may he rest in peace – and the Chūbānids in Suntāy ¹⁹³ and the surrounding area. Hājjī Taghāy had sent (a message) to the emir saying: "There seems no urgency that I also should come with the army".

Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh and the Chūbānids had perceived that their union would ensure them large numbers and victory. They made haste and reached the army of Baghdād in the year 741 (June 27, 1340 – June 16, 1341) and gave battle. Both sides fell back. The emir went to Baghdād. Hājjī Taghāy, who was halfway there, returned and the Chūbānids subjected that region to plundering. They devastated the whole area from Marāghah to Sultāniyyah and Hamadān in order that prosperity should disappear (and) the army should not come this way.

A drought occurred in Ādharbaijān and 'Irāq. Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh, came to Tabrīz. Sūrghān went to Rayy and started a rebellion against Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh, and sent to Khurāsān inviting Tughāytimūr with Shaikh 'Alī Gawun ¹⁹⁴, his

191) HA/Bayani p. 162 calls him: Sulaimān Khān bin Yūsufshāh bin Sūkāy bin Yashmūt bin Hulāgū Khān; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 164; D'Ohsson IV, p. 733; Spuler/Iran p. 133.

192) See Mustaufī p. 629 – 630.

193) I have found no further information about this place. HA/Bayani p. 163 puts this battle on June 26, 1340 in the place Ūmās near the Jaghūtū. See also note 130.

194) HA/Bayani p. 163 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 164 write this name: Shaikh 'Alī Kāwan (or Kāun or Gāun?; EI s.v. Tughāy Timūr writes 'Alī-gawun).

brother, Malik Ashraf, Hājjī Hamzah and the Chūbānids departed from here. A battle took place, in this same year 741 (June 27, 1340 – June 16, 1341)¹⁹⁵. Sūrghān and the Khurāsānians were defeated, and Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh made an incursion¹⁹⁶ into Aladāq while Hājjī Taghāy was off his guard. For some time they lay in wait for his arrival, (but) Hājjī Taghāy fled. They plundered that region and brought much booty.

In the year 742 (June 17, 1341 – June 4, 1342) he (Shaikh Hasan, son of Timūrtāsh) sent Yāghī Bāstī, the son of Chūbān, to Qarābāgh, and Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh laid the foundation of the building¹⁹⁷ in Tabrīz. He imposed levies on the landlords and extra taxes¹⁹⁸ in Ādharbaijān. Sūrghān again came from Rayy to Sultāniyyah. Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh, sent Muḥammad 'Alīshāh with a message in the name of peace, and he had a servant, called Tarūt, whom he sent with several horsemen behind him. (p.169) Sūrghān was negligent and had no guard. They seized him and brought him to Tabrīz with his wife, the daughter of Khidīrshāh. They executed his wife and carried him to a fortress¹⁹⁹.

Yāghī Bāstī fled from his brothers²⁰⁰ with Malik Ashraf in the year 743 (June 6, 1342 – May 25, 1343). They went to Baghdād to the court of the emir (Shaikh Hasan Buzurg) where they were cordially received. They were there for some time, in that place were justice and equity. This was not to their liking and they fled to Persian 'Irāq and went to Shīrāz. Mas'ūdshāh fell in with them and they put Pīr Husain to flight from Shīrāz until he came to Sultāniyyah. He had many pearls which he took with him to give to Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh, in order to obtain an army and to return. When he arrived, he (Shaikh Hasan) seized him and took his possessions from him, and killed him after several days with a drug.

In Fārs, Yāghī Bāstī put Mas'ūdshāh to death and plundered the baggage. And when the Shīrāzī's saw that, they assembled a vast force against him and drove him out of the town. And Abū Ishāq, the son of Maḥmūdshāh, with his followers seized the brother of Malik²⁰¹.

195) In MS: 841.

196) As regards this word dar-ākhtan, cf. note 124.

197) I have not been able to find out which building is meant here.

198) "arbābānah wa-namārī"; nāmārī means "extra tax", from Mongolian "nāmā", to add (see Bartol'd/Ani p. 5, and W.Hinz: Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūčehr – Moschee zu Ani, in ZDMG, Band 101 (1951), p. 241 – 269, nāmārī: p. 265). "Arbābānah" may be a tax imposed for the benefit of the landowners (arbāb), or rather, I think, a tax imposed upon them (cf. p. 172 of the MS where is spoken about imposing "nāmārī" upon the "arbāb").

199) HA/Bayani p. 174: he was imprisoned in the fortress of Qarā Hīṣār.

200) The words birādarān and firār are connected in the MS.

201) It is not clear to me who is meant here.

Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh, sent Sulaimān Khān with 'Abdal Bāyānjār and Ya'qūbshāh to Rūm to fight against Artanā. They gave battle near Siwās. The army of Rūm was routed (but) Artanā, with his own army, had stood his ground. The troops of Sulaimān Khān engaged in plundering. Artanā sprang into action and attacked and defeated Sulaimān. And that battle took place in the year 744 (May 26, 1343 – May 14, 1344), and in the same year he (Shaikh Hasan) had sent Halabī ²⁰² with his son Siyāwush to Arrān, where they finally started to commit oppression and evil deeds and perpetrated injustice.

Shaikh Hasan (son of) Timūrtāsh was in Tabrīz. The daughter of Hājjī Jabash ²⁰³, son of Sūnjāq, was his wife. And one night, she and Shaikh Īl, emir of the hazārah of Qifchāq, killed him while he slept in the harem ²⁰⁴, and they hid themselves in the town. In the morning, the Rūmī's, who were servants of Shaikh Hasan Kūchik, (p. 170) spread themselves about the town, seized them both and killed them in the market-place as a thorough warning. His treasury and possessions, which amounted to two thousand seven hundred tūmān's of gold in cash, beside the goods and jewels, were brought to Sulaimān Khān.

The work of Sulaimān Khān progressed and he set out for Qarābāgh. Malik Ashraf and Yāgh(ī) Bāstī ²⁰⁵ had come to an agreement and set out for Shīrāz to besiege it. 'Arab Jāndār, the slave of Īltimūr, the son of Lakz(ī) Gūrgān ²⁰⁶, went to tell them this event (viz. the death of Shaikh Hasan). They returned and came to Tabrīz. They were few in number and harmed no one. Malik Ushtur was in Marāghah and he joined them. 'Alī-kī Bahādur ²⁰⁷ was one of the slaves of Timūrtāsh and reigned over Nakhchawān. He dominated completely and he joined them (so that) they became all powerful. The rabble, which was in Ādharbaijān, joined them, and they brought about tyranny and oppression. Sulaimān Khān sent Hājjī Hamzah and Bartīl Tarsā ²⁰⁸ with a letter inviting them. They were both arrested in the place of his brother ²⁰⁹.

The population of Tabrīz started fighting against them and

202) Derived from Halab (Aleppo), unless we must read Jalabī (?).

203) The reading of this name is uncertain. Zenker p. 348: čebiš, čepiš, čepüş or čepić (Turkish) means a lamb or kid (especially of one year old).

204) HA/Bayani p. 169, 170, 173 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 165: he was murdered by his wife 'Izzat Malik on the 27th of Rajab 744 (December 15, 1343); see also EI s.v. Hasan Kūchuk; D'Ohsson IV, p. 734; Spuler/Iran p. 134.

205) In MS written Yāgh Bāstī.

206) In MS written Lakz Gūrgān; cf. RaD/Jahn II where this names occurs several times.

207) HA/Bayani p. 178 writes Alīkī Bahādur, as does the MS on p. 172.

208) Cf. Mīrkhwānd V, p. 166 where B.r.ṭāl K.r.jī is mentioned as one of the vicegerents of Sulaimān Khān.

209) The meaning of this sentence is not clear.

they went out of the town. The Tabrīzī's had blocked (the way to) the quarter of the gardens with trees and flooded it. There was fighting for one, two days. Finally they took the town and started to murder and plunder. Shaikh Nizām-i Ghūrī came forward to intervene. The town was given to him and a proclamation made immediately to the effect that they (people) should not talk to one another ^{209a}.

And from there they set out to Rūm for Sūrghān, (but) he had escaped from the fortress. There was much money in that fortress. He took it with him from there. They joined each other there.

And afterwards they put to death Khawājah 'Imād al-Dīn Sarāwī, who was controller and owner of the district and chief of the financial administration. Sulaimān Khān came to Ūjān and asked the help of the august emir Shaikh Hasan – may he rest in peace – and he came to meet him. The Chūbānids came to Tabrīz once more and started oppression. They concluded a written agreement that as much as he could conquer of the region of Khurāsān, from the gate of Tabrīz to Sulṭāniyyah, should belong to Sūrghān; (p.171) as much as he could conquer in the direction of Rūm from Marand and Nakhchawān, should belong to Malik Ashraf and his brothers; Arrān, Shirwān and Gurjistān should belong to Yāghī Bāstī. This was agreed upon.

Sūrghān gave himself up to pleasure. Malik Ashraf went to Sa-hand with his brothers, summoned the emirs, prepared an army and set out for Tabrīz. Sūrghān was in no position to resist and was routed. Malik Ashraf pursued him. They went as far as ²¹⁰ and gave battle. Sūrghān was defeated and routed, together with Yāghī Bāstī and the emirs who were with him. The august emir (Shaikh Hasan Buzurg) came with Sulaimān Khān to Tabrīz. Sulaimān Khān went with the vanguard as far as Ahr and Sūrghān joined him. Yāghī Bāstī, Shaikh Chūbān and Husain Abanghāy ²¹¹ joined Malik Ashraf.

Malik Ashraf brought one of the tribe of the Turkli's and placed him on the throne and gave the sermon in Arrān in his name, Anūshirwān, this was the only name he had. He kept him as a bird in a cage ²¹².

And from there he (Malik Ashraf) set out for Tabrīz. The august emir had returned to Baghdād for he saw in this place (viz. Ta-

209a) Apparently to prevent gatherings or conspiracies.

210) The name of the place has been omitted in the MS. According to HA/Bayani p. 176, Malik Ashraf finally reached Sūrghān on the mountain Nātīl, after a long pursuit to Khūy, Ma'mūriyyah etc.

211) The correct reading of this name is uncertain. Below it is written 'b.n.ghāghī.

212) See also HA/Bayani p. 176; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 166; D'Ohsson IV, p. 735 – 736; Spuler/Iran p. 135 – 136.

brīz) the sign of destruction. He was both a ruler and a man with a heart.

Sūrghān, Sātī Bek and Sulaimān Khān went to Diyārbakr to Ibrāhīmshāh, the son of Bāz Banāy ²¹³, son of Sūtāy. Previously he had killed Hājji Taghāy and had seized that kingdom, and they joined him. Before Malik Ashraf arrived in Tabrīz, he seized Hājji Hamzah with Shaikh Chūbān, his son Shaikh 'Alī and Husain Abanghāghī ²¹⁴ and put him to death. And he came in Tabrīz and stayed (there) in the year 745 (May 15, 1344 – May 3, 1345) and he hoisted the sign of oppression as high as Capella and began to impose extra taxes on the populace ²¹⁵.

R u l e o f M a l i k A s h r a f

(p. 172) This lasted for thirteen years. He seized Yāghī Bāstī and killed him secretly and began (to impose) injustice in the kingdom of Ādharbaijān and Arrān. He prepared his sword against the emirs and (levied) extra taxes upon the landlords, the officials ²¹⁶ and the weak, and he also put 'Abdal Bāyānjār to death.

His vizier was 'Abd al-Hayy Hammāmī Tabrīzī. Khwājah Majd al-Dīn Rashīdī was with him and died in Tabrīz. He took an amount of four or five hundred thousand dinars from his children and followers. And he went from there to Qarābāgh and a battle took place between Malik Ashraf and Sūrghān with Ibrāhīmshāh in 'rūb.n.h ²¹⁷, in the place Aladāq. Sūrghān and Ibrāhīmshāh were defeated in the course of the year 746 (May 4, 1345 – April 23, 1346). Ibrāhīmshāh went to Diyārbakr and as long as he lived he did not come again to Aladāq. And Sūrghān, Tūdān and Jīndughān went with Sātī Bek Sulṭān to Rūm to Artanā.

Malik Ashraf came to Tabrīz and started oppression again. He killed some and promoted others. He seized Mişr Malik, his own brother, together with Yahyā Jāndār, Khwājah 'Alī and Alīkī Bahādur, and he dragged his brother in an iron cage ²¹⁸, and he had those three put to death. He gave their places to the slaves of Jānīk (thereby) promoting them, and he went from there to Qarābāgh. Urdūq, the son of Khwājah Majd al-Dīn, had amassed great riches, he had imprisoned him and had sent him to the fortress

213) This reading is uncertain.

214) Cf. note 211.

215) See note 198.

216) "qalam" for "ahl-i qalam"?

217) I have not been able to identify this name.

218) HA/Bayani p. 177 – 178.

of Tīklah ²¹⁹. He sent Pīltan and Baṣrī to that fortress to be tried. Muḥammad-i Rūmī was a slave of Malik Ashraf; he had promoted him and appointed him his lieutenant in Tabrīz. He (this slave) rebelled and released Pīltan, Baṣrī and Amīr Urtūq from the fortress and fled to Shīrāz ²²⁰.

Sūrghān went with Tūdān and Jīn-tūqān from Rūm to Baghdād and the august emir afforded them good protection. They started rioting and Īlkan punished them. A battle took place between Īlkan and Malik Ashraf in the region of Kurdistān. Īlkan was routed and defeated in the year 747 (April 24, 1346 – April 12, 1347) (p. 173)

Malik Ashraf came to Tabrīz and extorted money from the people and filled the treasury. And in that year a serious plague had broken out in Ādharbaijān. Three things were abundant: oppression, dearth and the plague.

Malik Ashraf made again for Baghdād in the course of the year 748 (April 13, 1347 – March 31, 1348). When he reached Kurdistān and passed rapidly through that region, he encamped there and sent Malik Ushtur with the whole army to Baghdād. They went and settled down near Shaikh Dhukrān ²²¹. And every day they went to the gate of Baghdād, fought and returned again.

An amusing incident (which occurred) there has been recorded; among the favourites of Malik Ashraf was a young Rūmī, Amīr Aḥmad Ayūdājī ²²², who was in that army, and he had a jester. They went on the bank of the Tigris, and on that (viz. the other) side of the river were (men) of the army of Baghdād. They shouted to each other. One on that (viz. the other) side of the river said: "You oppressors, we left you Ādharbaijān as a paradise-country, and came here. We have made of this destroyed Baghdād a prosperous place. Where do you want us to go live?" The jester began to answer and said: "We were in Rūm and committed ravages. We heard that you made Ādharbaijān habitable; we came and threw you out and devastated that country. Again we have come to throw you out and to destroy this region also". Just at this moment five unknown horsemen appeared. Lāchīn, the slave of Malik Ashraf was standing at the gate of the town; they attacked him and put him to flight ²²³. Panic broke out in the army and they fled away from the gate of Baghdād. The army of Baghdād and the infantry came out and seized a great deal of booty. The men (of Malik Ashraf) were strangers there and the summer was warm; they did not know the way and could not find water. Many perished of thirst.

219) A small district in Qarābāgh (Minorsky/Studies p. 35).

220) These last sentences have been added in the margin. Cf. also HA/Bayani p. 178 (Amīr Urtūq Rashīdī and Amīr Naṣr).

221) Reading uncertain.

222) It is not necessary to read Abū Dājī as does HA/Bayani p. 178.

223) HA/Bayani p. 178 – 179 gives the story in almost the same words.

And that stronghold of the saints (viz. Baghdād) escaped the evil of the oppressors.

Malik Ashraf came again to Tabrīz and let loose a hundred thousand hungry wolves on Ādharbaijān (p. 174) and Arrān. They did what they liked and the population grew desperate. They all quitted their native country, some going to Jīlān, some to Shīrwān and the Dasht-i Qifchāq and some to Gurjistān. They were scattered over Rūm, Syria and Baghdād.

In that winter he put to death Hājjī Shahrman together with his son who was a favourite, in Qarābagh in Arrān. And in the year 749 (April 1, 1348 – March 21, 1349) he had promoted Khwājah Pīrūz; he put him to death in Tabrīz. He had plenty of possessions, all (of which) was brought to the treasury. Subsequently he seized 'Abd al-Hayy Hammāmī in Qarābagh²²⁴. It is said that he had three hundred thousand silver dinars in cash, besides gold, jewels and goods; all was brought to the treasury. This was always his method.

Afterwards he set out for Fārs and 'Irāq. Abū Ishāq, the son of Maḥmūdshā(h), was in Shīrāz and Muḥammad, the son of Muẓaffar Atashk (Atābek?)^{224a} in Kirmān. Kirmān constantly suffered at the hands of the army of Shīrāz, and Muḥammad Yazdī repeatedly sent (messages) to Malik Ashraf and begged for an army, saying: "I shall take Shīrāz for Mīr Malik Ashraf", and an envoy came frequently. He sent Bek-jūkaz²²⁵, who had been newly promoted and was one of the Turkomāns of Rūm, son of Hājjī Maḥdī, son of Chūbān Sālār, with the vanguard to Iṣfahān, and in the year 750 (March 22, 1349 – March 10, 1350) he himself followed and laid siege to Iṣfahān. Amīr Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad was in Iṣfahān and (he and) Mīr Mīrān²²⁶ stood firm, and there was fighting for nearly one month, more or less. 'Arabshāh Bahādūr and 'Umarshāh Jāndār were killed in the moat and many people fell. The object was not achieved.

He (Malik Ashraf) returned and came to Tabrīz, and he seized one and made another his vicegerent. And from there he went to Mūqān in the spring and returned again to Tabrīz in the year (p. 175) 753 (February 18, 1352 – February 5, 1353).

Bāyazīd and Alfī were two promoted slaves of his. And when they saw that his greed extended (even) to his own attendants, they started a rebellion²²⁷. They joined each other between Ganjah and Tiflīs and crossed the river Kur. They went to the pro-

224) HA/Bayani p. 179; Mīrkhwānd V, p. 167.

224a) In MS: 't.sh.k.

225) Mustaufī p. 651 writes the last part of this name: j.kāz.

226) Mustaufī p. 664 – 665 calls him: Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Mīr Mīrān, governor of Iṣfahān.

227) HA/Bayani p. 182 – 183. Alfī is called here Albī.

vince of Lībārīk ²²⁸, and were both killed there and their heads were brought to Malik Ashraf.

When the emirs and servants saw this, they became weary of life. When one of the emirs and grandees was told: "Mīr Malik Ashraf calls you", he made his testament and measures for flight were taken in his house ²²⁹. He lived in the Rub'-i Rashīdī, and he ordered that as soon as his decree should be issued, the emirs, notables, judges and princes must move to the Rub'-i Rashīdī. (This applied) especially to Tabrīz, for the population and also the officials of the town moved to the religious building ("Imā-rat"). The whole day they were busy with their task in the town and in the evening they returned there (to the Rub'-i Rashīdī). People grew desperate and wished to die. He did not leave one dirham of gold in the world (but) he collected all by force and injustice, and he had fourteen treasuries ²³⁰. He had many mean qualities, (but) if I were to occupy myself with them, this would be a lengthy story. It has been abridged.

In the year 757, in the month of Rajab, (June 30 - July 29, 1356) the august emir and supreme lord Tāj al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Hasan strode to the world of eternity and his pure spirit joined the garden of paradise - may God have mercy on him and may he rest in peace and may he make heaven his dwelling -. And he had appointed his favourite son (viz. Uwais) as his successor. After the death of his good father he looked after the affairs of state. He removed several innovations which had been generally adopted ²³¹ (p. 176) - may God perpetuate his reign -. He made continuous efforts to liberate Ādharbaijān from oppression and violence and to raise the banner of justice, but he was restricted by the fact that "things happen at their appointed time".

In the year 758 (December 25, 1356 - December 13, 1357) Muḥammad Yazdī took possession of Fārs, and that came to pass as follows. Bek-jūkaz deserted from Malik Ashraf and went to Shīrāz to Abū Ishāq, who made him commander of the army and sent him to fight against Muḥammad, the son of Muẓaffar Yazdī. When they met, they arrayed themselves in ranks and fighting followed. Bek-jūkaz was beaten with the army of Shīrāz and many of the followers and brave warriors of Abū Ishāq were killed in the year (753 in the month Jumādā I = June 16 - July 15, 1352) ²³². Muḥammad Yazdī

228) I have found no information about this name in the comprehensive study of Hübschmann of Armenian place names or in other works of reference.

229) Some work like "mashghūl" has probably been omitted.

230) HA/Bayani p. 179 and Mīrkhwānd V, p. 167: seventeen.

231) Here follows an empty space in the MS.

232) The year is not given in the MS. Mustaufī p. 652: this battle took place at Panj Angusht on a Wednesday in Jumādā I.

went straight to Shīrāz and laid siege to it. After a few days he took the town ²³³. Abū Ishāq escaped and went to Lur and Shūshtār and came from there to Isfahān. He sent Mīr Mīrān and ‘Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was his vizier, to Malik Ashraf and begged for an army. When they reached Malik Ashraf in Tabrīz, he gave them hope in his customary deceitful words. Muḥammad Yazdī saw his chance: he took Isfahān, seized and executed Abū Ishāq ²³⁴, and took possession of the whole of Persian ‘Irāq and Fārs, taking unto himself the title of caliph as al-Mu’taḍid bi-Allāh, the deputy of the Commander of the faithful. He also coveted Ādharbaijān, but this chance (viz. the chance to conquer this country) was in the hands of the late king Jānī Bek.

This came about in the following way: Uzbek Khān died in the year 743 (June 6, 1342 – May 25, 1343) ²³⁵. Dīnī Bek succeeded him and he had two more brothers, Jānī Bek and Khidīr Bek ²³⁶. Jānī Bek started a rebellion against his brother and a battle took place between them. Dīnī Bek was defeated and taken prisoner. Jānī Bek executed him and ascended the throne of his father. He killed Khidīr Bek also and took the throne of the kingdom in the year 743 (June 6, 1342 – May 25, 1343). He reigned for sixteen years ²³⁷ and in the days of his government the great country prospered, for many of the prominent people of Tabrīz, Sarāh, (p. 177) Ardabīl, Bailaqān, Barda’a and Nakhchawān went there owing to the oppression of Malik Ashraf. The state became prosperous, his power increased; as Shaikh Sa’dī has said: “He put an end to greed in Iran”. -Verse-: “When a man of God eats half a loaf, he gives the other half to the poor; (when) the king seizes the kingdom of the seven climes, he takes Darband, the other clime, in the same way” ²³⁸.

He went to the kingdom of Jaghatāy and conquered those regions. After settling down for a short time in his residence – it is said that he did not stay more than three days – he prepared to march, crossed the river Terek and came to Darband. From there he came to Shirwān and sent a messenger to Malik Ashraf to say: “I am coming to take possession of the ulūs of Hulāgū. You are the son of Chūbān whose name was in the yarliḡh of the four ulūses. To day three ulūses are under my command and I also wish to appoint

233) Mustaufī p. 658: Shīrāz was taken on the 3rd of Shawwāl 754 (November 1, 1353).

234) HA/Bayānī p. 184; Mustaufī p. 673 – 675. Abū Ishāq was executed on May 22, 1356 (Mustaufī vol. II, p. 173, note 1).

235) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 98: 1341; Grekov/Zolotaja Orda p. 90: 1342.

236) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 99: Tīnī Beg, Ġānī Beg, Hižyr Beg. MS has Dunī Bek (the resemblance with “dunyā” induced the copyist probably to write -u), and Kh.ḍir and Kh.ḍr Bek.

237) Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 99 – 109; he died in the autumn of 1357.

238) The purport of the last line is vague.

you emir of the ulūs; get up and come to meet (me)". Malik Ashraf answered: "He is king of the ulus of Barkah, he has nothing to do with the ulūs of Abaqā, for king Ghāzān rules ("exists") here and the emirship belongs to me". The messenger spoke harsh words; he arrested and imprisoned him.

Jānī Bek Khān came to the bank of the Kur. However much they talked to Malik Ashraf, he refused and so finally he brought about his (own) annihilation. The population went to meet (Jānī Bek Khān). Jānī Bek Khān passed through Barzand and came to the tūmān of Pīshkīn ²³⁹. Malik Ashraf had sent Muḥammad Qūlī, Sharaf Darbān and several servants as a guard and he sent couriers to all sides. In every place where there were troops he assembled them all and (in all) there were seventeen or eighteen thousand men. He himself went to Shām ^{239a} and said to his attendants: "This is the son of king Uzbek. He is of the family of Jingiz Khān and has an overwhelming army of three hundred thousand men. I cannot hold out against him. Now I have taken the treasury and my friends ²⁴⁰. I shall go to a fortress and a fortified place until he comes. If peace comes later, it will be all right; if not, I shall go to Rūm". People had taken a dislike to him and had grown desperate. (p.178) They did not want him to escape, and they all implored him, saying: "The emir should not fear this; their superiority lies in the horse (viz. cavalry); (they have) horsemen without weapons. Their horses have no shoes, and their arrows no flights. Let us fight till the bitter end".

Regular government had collapsed and life had come to an end. He believed their lie, and when every servant whom he had sent out in some direction, came to serve him, he said: "Hasten, go!... ²⁴¹ Fight for yourself and be courageous for me too!" He went from Shām to Bāghchah-i Arghūn. There he remained for three days and from there he went to Sa'idābād and sent the army to the region of Sarāh ²⁴².

The king came to Ardabīl and from there to Sarāh. He encamped near Īwah and Sharābiyān ²⁴³. The army of Malik Ashraf was drawn up near Ūjān. It rained and hailed, and the two armies faced each other. When the Ashrafī's saw that multitude, they fought for a while and then took flight. And Duqduq ²⁴⁴ pursued them — the

239) As regards Pīshkīn, see Le Strange p. 169 and Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 85.
239a) Suburb of Tabrīz, now called Qara Malik (EI s.v. Tabrīz).

240) See note 185.

241) The MS shows a small open space here.

242) Also called Sarāb, Sarāw, or Sarāt. See Le Strange p. 163; Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 86; Hudūd al-'Ālam p. 394.

243) Sharābiyān is shown on Kiepert's Karte der Kaukasus-Länder (Berlin 1854) and lies about thirty kilometers to the west of Sarāb. Īwah lay five kilometers to the east of Sharābiyān (information kindly given by Prof. Minorsky).

244) Cf. note 154.

authority (for this) lies with the narrator -, they put two or three thousand men to death. The news reached Malik Ashraf who took flight. That evening he encamped in the caravan-saray of Sa'd al-Dīn and in the middle of the night he went from there to Marand. All the men stayed behind. Several treasurers remained and they agreed to seize Malik Ashraf and to bring him with the treasury to Jānī Bek Khān. The attendants who were with them said: "So we get nothing"; they plundered the treasury of silver.

Malik Ashraf, with the ladies and the treasury, set with jewels, went on ahead. The news reached him and he returned and he forbade it; the men had lost respect (however) and paid no attention to his words. He remained for a time and (then) returned. The next day, his mother, daughter and family turned away from him and came to Tabrīz. He went to Khūy and after a short time they seized him and brought him to Tabrīz. And of that hoard and of the treasures which he had collected during thirteen years by oppression, not even two dirhams remained at his disposal. (p. 179) As Shaikh Sa'dī has said - praise be to God - verse -: "Behold the Khosrau's of Persia who oppressed their subjects; neither that power and kingdom, nor that injustice against the peasant remained. See the error that is wrought by the hand of the oppressor; the world remains but he has gone together with his tyrannies; his way of thinking was a mistake and an idle device, because what he sought in oppression (really) lay in justice". They brought him to the court of Jānī Bek Khān in Kūbdū²⁴⁵ and executed him there.

The king made his son Bīrdī Bek successor in the sarāy of Ūljāy Khwātūn and returned to the Dasht-i Qifchāq. And the children and the mother of Malik Ashraf, the treasury set with jewels, part of the silver and the cattle, all that there was, he took with him.

R e i g n o f B ī r d (ī) B e k

This did not last out two months. His genealogy reads: Bīrdī Bek, son of Jānī Bek, son of Uzbek, son of Tawīljah, son of Mūnkā Timūr, son of Nūqāy, son of Bāṭūy, son of Jūjī, son of Jingiz Khān²⁴⁶.

When his father Jānī Bek was passing through Darband, he fell ill and the king went to Sarāh²⁴⁷. He had a vizier, called Sarāy

245) HA/Bayani p. 187 calls this place Kūbtū (Gūbtū ?). I have found no information about its situation.

246) Regarding him see Spuler/Goldene Horde p. 108 - 109. In the heading in the MS his name is written Bīrd Bek.

247) = Sarāb (Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 87).

Timūr who was told: "Malik Ashraf had an under-tunic in which he had sewn all the valuable jewels he had; those men who seized him have it in their possession". They repeated this to the king. Duqduqī ²⁴⁸ was sent with Akhī Jūq to bring that garment. When they arrived there, Akhī Jūq seized the garment, took those jewels out of it, and started a rebellion. The king was hesitant owing to the death of his father. He sent the army to Tabrīz. They stayed for three days and on the fourth day they returned. The king went to Ardabīl and from there to Arrān and he passed through Shirwān and Darband and did not halt in any place. Akhī came to Tabrīz, the Ashrafī's assembled around him (p. 180) and they took charge of the government.

Rebellion of Akhī Jūq

This lasted for one year ²⁴⁹. He divided Ādharbaijān among the Ashrafī's and gave to each of them a province. He sent Amīrshāh Rāhdār with Kūkjak (and?) Pīr Husain ²⁵⁰ to Arrān. Saif al-Dīn, the son of 'Ainah Qutlugh Bū-Sa'īdābādī, was there and opposed them. With the officials of Arrān, they took refuge with Amīr Kāwus and brought Nūdar, the son of Amīr Kāwus. And a battle took place between them and the Ashrafī's on the hill-top of Jūy-i Nau ²⁵¹. Amīrshāh was beaten and Kāwus came to Qarābāgh. Akhī, too, set out with all the Ashrafī's for Arrān. They met on the bank of the Aras near Mānī ²⁵². They stood on both banks and (were engaged) in fighting in that way until they went to Qarābāgh. On the bridge of the Aras they concluded peace with each other. Kāwus returned to Shirwān and Akhī entered Qarābāgh. He became powerful there and in the spring he came to Ūjān.

Subsequently there was a rumour about the royal banners and an auspicious constellation which spread throughout the world, to the effect that the sun of the government would rise in the bright sign of Baghdād, that this darkness of oppression in Ādharbaijān would go down, that the world would become bright by the ray of its justice and that Canopus of his mercy, would make the

248) Cf. notes 154 and 244.

249) Mīrkhwānd V, p. 172.

250) We must add probably "and" between Kūkjak and Pīr (?) Husain. Kūkjak may be Turkish گۆکچک gökçek or eastern Turkish كوكچاك: "beau" (Zenker p. 775).

251) Jūy-i Nau ("New Canal") was a place in Mūghān (Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 173).

252) The reading is uncertain. I am tempted to read "Bābī", although I have found "Baby" (on the lower course of the Aras) only on recent maps. It might also be possible to read "Ānī", but this place lay, however, rather far from the Aras and from the scene of action. I have found no place with the name "Mānī" or "Mābī".

surface of the hearts bright by its colour and fragrance. From the stronghold of the saints (viz. Baghdād), the great king of kings, the king of Islām, Sultān Shaikh Uwais, set himself to fight and wage war against the oppressors and the corrupters. And with the purpose of liberating Ādharbaijān from the hands of the wicked, he prepared to march. And many assembled on this side of the corrupters also and they set out. For several days messengers and ambassadors came and went busily engaged in trying to arrange a peaceful agreement between them, for peace is better. And the mercy and favour that his highness (p. 181) – may God let his kingdom endure and make his government eternal – had concerning the servants..... God the Exalted ²⁵³. He wished that no Muslim should meet with any harm from murder and plundering, from both of which after all no place is free.

A ruler has a secret inspiration: it was predestined that the region would become free from their oppression. Consequently, from both sides the armies drew up their ranks and met on the last day of Sha'bān of the year (759 = August 6, 1358) ²⁵⁴ and exerted themselves to their utmost. The men of Baghdād and the Ashrafī's met. On the right flank was he (Uwais) – may his kingdom endure –, with his relatives and subjects, they defeated the left flank of the Ashrafī's. His army – may his kingdom endure – routed Akhī Jūq. The left flank was (formed by) 'Īsā Bek and the army of the Uyūrāts ²⁵⁵. Their tongues and the inmost of their souls were different (viz. they were not sincere) and they intended to flee. Not even the beginning of an attack by the right flank of the Ashrafī's reached them. They returned (when) it was the time for evening prayers. The two armies met in the region of ²⁵⁶. "It was a pitch-dark night. Neither the Pleiades nor the moon, neither enemy nor friend could be seen; they cut each other's skin". That night they encamped as they were (there). When dawn broke, both armies had remained there. They mounted on their horses and drew up opposite one another. The dust from the hooves of the horses rose to the grey sky. "From the hooves of the dun-coloured horses on that hard mountain ²⁵⁷ was agitated like the leaves of the tree". And when the royal banners moved to the Ashrafī's and the army attacked,

253) Something has been omitted here in the MS.

254) The year has been left out in the MS. HA/Bayani p. 189 puts the arrival of Akhī Jūq in the spring of 759 (1358).

255) = Uyūrāts.

256) The name has been omitted in the MS. According to Mīrkhwānd V, p. 170, this encounter took place near the mountain Sīnā (cf. Nuzhat al-Qulūb p. 78 and p. 216: the Taghtū river had its origin in the neighbourhood of the Sīnā Pass, in the mountains of Kurdistān). See also note 130.

257) The meaning of "khwā-rā" here is not clear.

^{257a} and the king of kings of Islām was the first to batter and defeat them, the Ashrafi's took flight. The army of Baghdād pursued them for one or two farsakhs. He (viz. Uwais) ordered them to return and not to kill (p.182) or injure anybody.

The Ashrafi's entered Tabrīz, raised the sign of oppression, and began (a reign of) tyranny. And the population renounced house, riches and possessions and sat down to wait for the happy news and joyful tidings of the arrival of his imperial highness – may God let his kingdom endure -. Several thousands of horsemen, iron-clad and with drawn Indian swords, mounted on Arabian horses, entered (the town) but the Ashrafi's went out earlier to Nakhchawān. The population was liberated from its trouble and escaped from the oppression which was designed against it.

G o v e r n m e n t o f t h e s u p r e m e k i n g , t h e
o w n e r o f t h e n e c k s o f t h e p e o p l e s ,
S h a i k h U w a i s B a h ā d u r K h ā n

(This lasted for) eighteen years ²⁵⁸.

May God let his kingdom endure and may his government be brilliant and perpetual and permanent until the extinction and the end of the world. He established himself in Tabrīz. He led a praiseworthy life, took good measures and ruled according to the established custom.

From all around and from the districts, the Ashrafi's assembled; he bestowed on every one, according to his rank, a favour and special honours. Some had come to kiss the foot of his highness – may his government be perpetuated -. They wanted to play their treacherous game. In the very execution of their wicked deed they were seized and became the sheaths of the sharp sword (viz. were run through with it). And those who were outside, with Akhī Jūq, asked for help from robbers and brigands, concluded a treaty with them and set out for Nakhchawān. From there they made for Arrān and were for one month in Arrān, Barda'ah and Bailaqān. Nobody became their follower and they wanted (p.183) to return. Again they agreed to go to Qarābāgh and to plunder (there) ²⁵⁹.

Afterwards they returned, and from Tabrīz 'Alī Piltan was sent with an army to repel them. Because of disagreement and of the bad intention which he had – or, people furthermore said that he had dealings with that troop – he was negligent. He made a jour-

^{257a}) It may be that something has been omitted here.

²⁵⁸) This sentence has been added in a different handwriting.

²⁵⁹) This last paragraph occurs nearly literally in HA/Bayani p. 189 – 190.

ney of three days in thirty days and he remained in Darrahrūd. The Turkomāns of Mūghānāt ²⁶⁰ were waiting for 'Alī to go to Qarābāgh, which is the capital of Arrān, to assemble around him. He did not go and that group entered Qarābāgh. They saw the negligence of 'Alī. Without delay they collected an army and gave battle with 'Alī in the region of Sānbūl ²⁶¹, defeating him on Wednesday the 27th of Šafar of the year (760 = January 29, 1359) ²⁶². They routed him and his imperial highness set out for Baghdād.

At first he (Uwais) wanted to march against that group. It was the middle of the winter. The poor people in Miyānah were perishing and the villages and the landed property of the Muslims were plundered during the fighting. He returned out of piety which he had in his pure heart ²⁶³.

Akhī Jūq entered Tabrīz with several robbers and made them indulge in the gross destruction of the Sar-i Qalam ²⁶⁴. And he went to Kurdistān wishing to subject those regions to plundering too, (but) it did not turn out so and many of his followers fell.

On the 2nd of Shawwāl 760 (August 27, 1359) ²⁶⁵ fighting took place between Muḥammad, the son of Muẓaffar, and Akhī. (This happened) on Wednesday near Warzuqān. Khwājah Lu'lu' again defeated Akhī and many of the Ashrafī's were killed. Akhī Jūq took flight to Qabbān ²⁶⁶, and Amīr Muḥammad, the son of Muẓaffar Yazdī, entered Tabrīz and delivered one Friday-sermon, for there came again a rumour of the advance of the triumphant army that arrives with joy and victory. He departed the same day and did not rest nor even halt in any place from Tabrīz to 'Irāq. (p.184)

As God – may He be sanctified and exalted – had ordained that this kingdom and realm and this throne and government should be, and may it be, the lot and portion of this victorious highness (viz. Uwais) ²⁶⁷ – may God perpetuate his reign and eternalize his power –, so by necessity, Jānī Bek died on his way when he returned, although he resisted evil.

When Amīr Muḥammad, the son of Muẓaffar Yazdī, arrived at the halting-place ²⁶⁸, he was blinded by his sons.

260) = Mūghān ?

261) Or Sābnūl ?

262) The year has been omitted in the MS, but 760 is the only year which can be considered (cf. note 254).

263) These few words have been added in the margin.

264) I have found no information about this "Sar-i Qalam".

265) In the MS: 860, or 865.

266) Qabbān or Qabān lay to the north of the river Aras (north of Ordu-bad). See Schwarz VIII, p. 1174; Hudūd al-'Ālam p. 398.

267) The name of Uwais has been omitted in the MS.

268) Mustaufī p. 680 puts this event at the castle of Tabarak (see Le Strange p. 205 and Schwarz V, p. 660) in the middle of Ramaḍān of the year 759 (September 1358). According to the MS, and HA/Bayani p. 191, Muḥammad arrived in Tabrīz in 760 (in the spring) so that he must have been blinded in 760.

Subsequently, nobody against whom he (Uwais) harboured enmity in his heart, escaped. They were seized by the servants of this highness ²⁶⁹ – may he remain sublime – and were doomed to death, so that it may be as it should be. Amen, o Lord of the worlds.

H i s i l l u s t r i o u s d e s c e n t

His good father was the late Amīr Tāj al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Shaikh Ḥasan, son of the august Amīr Ḥusain, son of the martyri-
zed Aqbūqā Gūrgān, son of the late Amīr Īlkān Nūyān – may God il-
lumine their words. His (viz. Shaikh Ḥasan's) mother was the au-
gust lady Ūljāy Sultān, daughter of Arghūn Khān, son of Ābāqā
Khān, son of Hulāgū Khān, son of Tūlī Khān, son of Jingiz Khān.

His mother:

His good mother was the late lady, the supreme lady Dilshād Khā-
tūn, daughter of Amīr Dimishq Khwājah, son of the august Amīr
Chūbān, – may God illumine their resting-place –. Her mother was
Tūrsin Khātūn, daughter of Kūnjak Khātūn, daughter of Aḥmad Khān,
son of Hūlāgū Khān, etc. ²⁷⁰.

²⁶⁹) Something (the name of Uwais ?) has been omitted here.

²⁷⁰) The MS finishes with a heading; "His blessed birth" or "His blessed son". For both meanings see Zenker p. 894.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 'Azzāwī: 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī: Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq baina iḥtilālain. 3 vols. Baghdād 1936.
- Barthold/Turkestan: Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, by W. Barthold. Second edition, translated from the original Russian and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M. A. London 1928 (GMS, New Series V).
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- MS: Manuscript of Ta’rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais (Catalogus cod. orient. Bibliothecae Lugd.-Batavae, Leiden 1851 – 1877: vol V, p. 228, no. 2634).
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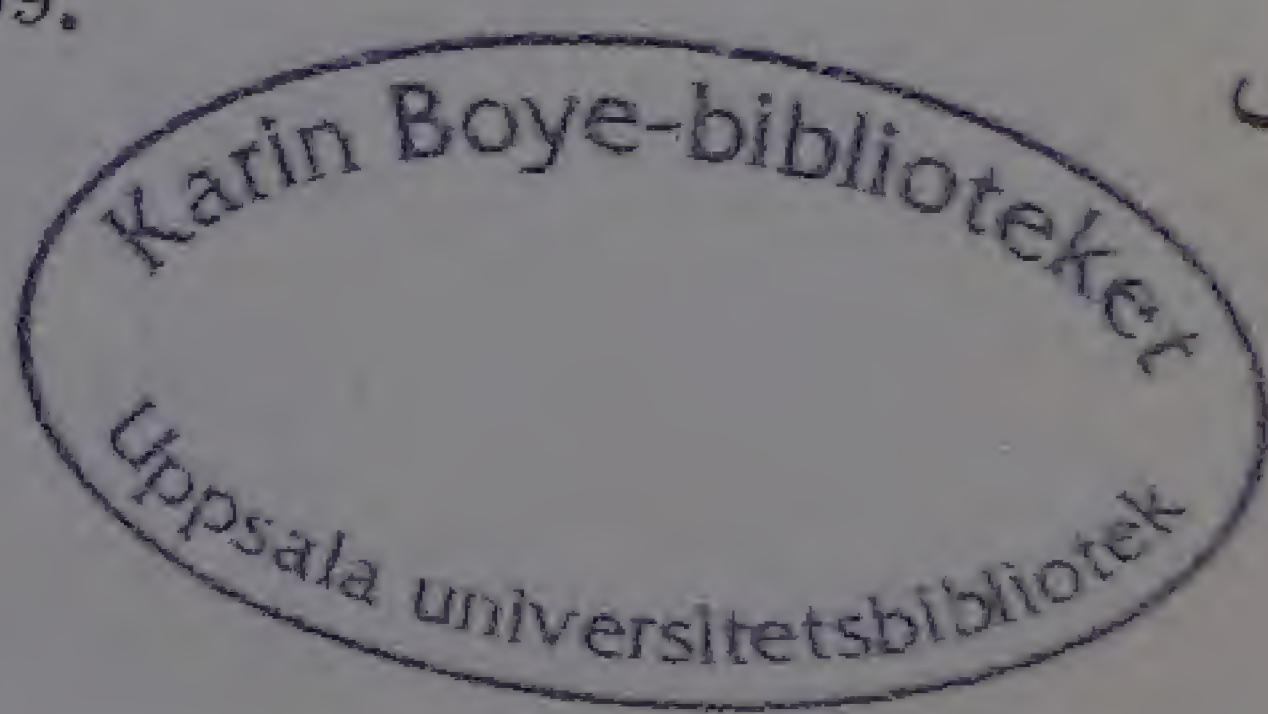
- (124): dar-ākhtan.
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تاریخ شیخ اویسی

تالیف

أبو بكر القطبي الأهری

با مقدمه و ترجمه و حواشی بانگلیسی

بسی و اهتمام

ین فن لون

لا هه ۱۳۷۳ هـ

چاپخانه ایکسیلیسیور

اسطنتاق خان

هجرت سال — بود و نسبه و آبا قبا خان بن هولاكو خان و كوينده هفت سال
وسه ماه و هفت روز بود او را دو پسر بود از غون و كيتا تو و چون پدر وفات
يافت او در زمانه دران بود بيا مد و پرتخت نشست در جهان نا و در مملكت فر و

گرفت ددسته ثلاث و ستن و ستا به

باشغت را بطرف سروان فرستاد تو بشين را با مرد خراسان كرد طوغوز تلخي
پسر ايلگان نوپان و تودان جدا امير چوبان را بروم فرستاد دريای نوپان را بديار بگر
فرستاد سپرمون نوپان بن چورما غون را بگر چستان فرستاد انجوها را با التجو نوپان
سپرد ممالک بغداد و قادس و بخاق برادر تودان ديوان با غون اقاداد برزدار
الملک ساخت علا الدين عطا ملک را پايست بغداد داد و آن سال بماند دران فستاد
کرد با شتون را با تاران فرستاد نوقاي بالشکر بر که خان عمر سروان كرد
نا با قسويي مديون از آب کر بگذشت و محاربه رفت ميان ايشان قايرغا بد طغاجار
گشته شد فوقي و اير سر زخم آمد لشکر او منهرم شد با سروان برفتند بر کاه از آن سو با
سپيده هزار سوار برسيد ابا قان خان از اين سوا ز آب کر بگذشت از اين سوي يول حجاب
کرد چنبر بر پيد مله دوشکر بر کاه از آب صف بکشدند دست بپير کردند برابر بکر
چهارده روز نشستند توانستند گذشتن عزير قليس کردند تا بگذرند بر کار بخورشند

وَقَاتِ يَأْتِ حَسَدُوقِ بَرَّايِ يَتَوَبَّرِدْنَ دَاخِجَا دَفْنِ كَرْدَنْدَ حَزُونِ سُرَوَانِ نَزْدِ كِلِ آبِ
بَرْگِ نَانْدَ مَوْنِکَا تَوَرَقَا بِهَمَقَا مَرَشْدَ ۞ وَاللّٰهُ اَعْلَمُ بِالْاَوَابِ ۞

پادشاهی منکاتور

شاهزاده سال بود نسب او منکو ترمین توقای پسر با تو در شهر سنه

اربع و ستین و ستمایه

پادشاهی کرد در زمانت حَسَبِ قِجَاقِ نَاطِرِ دِخْوَارِ زَمَرَا بَا قَا خَا نِ بَرْمُودِ نَا اَز کَا رِ
آبِ کَر و دَلانِ نَا وُورِ نَاصِحَا یِ کَر دِ مَوْنِ شَهْرَا و دِ کَا نِ سَمَا غَا رُ و مَنکُو تَوُر وَا وِلجَا یِ خِرَاوِ
بُکُشْتَنْدَ وَا نِ مَوْضِعِ پُورِ ثِ فِشَلَا قِ اِیْشَا نِ بُوْدَ بَعْدَا اَز اَنِ مَحَارِبَ بُوْدَ بَا بَرَا قِ و مَر غَا وِل
وِجَلَا بِر نَا بُوْدَ دِ شَهْرِ هَرَاةِ عَاقِبَتِ اِیْشَا نِ مَهْرَمِ شُدَنْدَ وِکِلِ اَرِشْعَرِ الْفَتَهِ بَا شُدَ شَعْرِ

عَرَهْ ذِی الْحِجَّه سَالِ خِصْعِ قَتَادِ ۞ بَر دَرِ شَهْرِ هَرَاةِ اَرْحَمِ یَزْدَا نِ اِتْفَاقِ

حَرْبِ لَشْکَرِ هَا وِ هَفْتِ اَقْلِمِ نَصْرَانِ ۞ لَشْکَرِ شَهْرَا دِ کَا نِ اِبغَا وِ تَوِیْسِیْنِ بَرِ بَرَا وِ

دِرْ عَقِبِ رَقِیْنْدَ وِ سَبَا اِیْشَا نِ بَکُشْتَنْدَ وِ قَوْمِ عَظِیْمِ بُوْدَ وِ خَوَاجَ نَصِیر الدِّیْنِ طُوسِی

وَقَاتِ یَأْتِ دَرِ سَنَهِ اِثْنِی وِ سَبْعِیْنِ وِ سَبْعَا یَهِ

رُوزِ دُوشَنَبَهْ هَجْدَهْمِ ذِی الْحِجَّه مَوْلَا نَا تَوُرَا لَدِیْنِ رِصْدِیْ فَرَمَیْدَ شَعْرِ

نَصِیر مَلِکِ وِ دَوْلَتِ مَحْمُودِ طُوسِی ۞ بَکَا نُو کِه چُونِ مَادِرِ زَمَانَهْ تَرَا دِ

بِ سَالِ سَلْصَلَهْ مَقْتَادِ وِ دُوزِ ذِی الْحِجَّه ۞ بَرُوزِ هَجْدَهْمِ اَز دِرْ کُذِشْتِ دَرِ بَغْدَا دِ

۞ سَعْدِ الدِّیْنِ نَظَرِیْ فَرَمَیْدَ ۞

نَصِیرِ دَوْلَتِ وِ دِیْنِ پادشاه کشور فضل که آسمان هنر بود و آفتاب زمین

سال شصت و هفتاد و دو و هجرت آن که بود خاک جنباش مآب روح امین
 چو هجده روز ذی الحجه شد دار فنا ملک کشت سراپرده زد بخلد برین
 وزارت بسم الدین صاحب دیوان جوئی خراسانی رسید و ارغون اقا در مرغزار
 رادکان درگذشت در شهر سنه

ثلاث و سبعین و ستمایه

قندقدار بالشکر چار عازم روم گشت ازین جانب امیر طوغی پسر ایلکان نویان و
 ارغون و تودان بن شیدون هر یک با شکرانجا بودند بدرالدین پروا نه را با
 قندقدار زبان یک بود و باتفاق او عازم گشته بود چون نزدیک رسیدند پروا نه
 آن شب امر را شراب بسیار بود و لشکر را نیز همچنین مست لای عقل خفته بودند
 علی الصبح لشکر مضربا قندقدار در رسید و آن لشکر را مجموع بقتل آوردند و امر را
 بکشتند چون خبر یاد شاه رسید عازم روم گشت و از ترکمانان روم بسیار بقتل آورد
 و ملک خویشها و لایق بزرگست در روم آن روز سور غامیشتی رفت بورته امیر طوغی و قندقدار
 در ذی الحجه ۷۸۳ متوفی شد الفی قائم مقام شد

ابفاخان روم را بشزاده قونر نای داد بفرمود تا قلعه دقائ و اوغانه که خا نه
 بدرالدین پروا نه بود خراب کردند و از انجا مراجعت کرد چون بالراق رسید پروا
 بیاساق رسانیدند و از انجا بیغداد رفت و لشکر بجا پی حصار سیاد شهراده
 شکو مردان لشکر بود تگنا و طولدای یار غوجی اندیشه ناک شدند و بیکدیگر داند
 و فریب شدند لشکر بسیار بقتل آمد خبر با با فاخان رسید عظیم برنجید و از بغداد
 بمنا آمد و در سرای ملک عادالدین نزول کرد و روز چهارشنبه بیستم ذی الحجه بعد از

نفریط تجرّح در سنه نمانین و ستمایه

وفات یافت و هزارده منکو مرد در موصل متوفی شد صندوق مرد و پناه تله پیش این
بردند ملک برادرش رسید ۰۰ والله اعلم بالصواب ۰۰

سلطنت احمد خان

دو سال و دو ماه و سیزده روز بود نسب و تگودار بن هولا کو باقیاف هزار دکان
قونزای هولا جو، جوشکاب کیشو و امرا شیکور، سوخاق، و عرب و قریغاه و دیگر مرا
پادشاهی بر و مقرر شد و بر تخت نشست در سیزدهم ربيع الاول ۶۷۰ و خراین
که در شاه تله بود بیرون آورد بر هزار دکان و امرا صرف کرد و بهتر لشکری
صد و بیست دینار بآرد و نام ایشان در دفتر ثبت کرد و در الوس بر کامونکا تور
وفات یافت و الله بود مونکا قائم مقام شد ۰۰ والله اعلم ۰۰

پادشاهی یود مونکا

بنح سال بود بشرکت سلطان احمد مولانا قطب الدین شیرازی را بمصر فرستاد
بر سال پیش پادشاه شام در شهر سنه ۰۰

لانی و نمانین ستمایه

و بعد از آن شیخ عبدالرحمن را بمصر فرستاد و آنجا در حبس مرده و سلطان احمد را سه
پسر بود بنیلاجی و ارسلانجی و بوخاجی قونزای با بعضی امراتفق شد و هوس سلطنت
کرد احمد را خبر شد الیناق را بمصر فرستاد تا او را بگیرد باز آن آورد با کوچک انقوجی

و سادی اخنای در فراغ یاساف رسانید و کوبندار غون نیز در آنجا نفی متفق بود سلطان
 الیناق را بجنک او فرستاد در آنچه خواجه نزد یک فروزین محاربه رفت الیناق بیکست
 ارغون بخراسان رفت احد لشکر کشید در عقب او برفت ارغون بقلعه کلات رفت الیناق
 او را پیش پادشاه آورد او را بخشید مراجعت کرد ارغون خان پیش الیناق بود پس
 مستخضه بود امرا و چند با شهزادگان در رفتند سر الیناق پدیدند و ارغون را پیرو
 آوردند پادشاهی نستانند احمد از راه سقزین روی بگرز نهاد طولی و جری
 مغل با چند هزار کس رفتی رفتند او را بگریفتند و هلاک کردند و اردو بخاریدند

در سنه ثلاث و ثمان و ستمه

ششم جمادی الاول ارغون خان بامداد مجبوس بود شافنگاه پادشاه شد

سلطنت ارغون خان

هفت سال بود نسب او ارغون خان بن اباقا خان بن هولاکو خان چهار پسر
 داشت غازان خریده بیسوتنور اوغل ملک تمش الدین صاحب دیوان بکر خجسته باقم
 نواب گفت به راه رویم جواب داد که فرزند ازاد دست مغل چون گذارم باز کشن
 بوقا آمد او را بخرید بر دالینفائی نکرد نویان شیر میش از آن پسرش محمی را آورده بود
 و املاک صاحبی را تصرف کرده امیر علی تاجی و فخر الدین مستوفی و حسام الدین صاحب
 که بزرگشیده او بودند قصد کردند تا در او جان بفرمودند تا دوفرار تومان کت بد هد
 گفت زدن دارم ولی املاک دارم که قهر مال سپید و شصت هزار دینار حاصل آن باشد هر روز
 بگذرارد دینار دولای و قودای را بفرستادند تا با او پیوستند بفرستادند بفرستادند

چون چند بزدند فایده نداد سلطان از او جان کوخ کرد بجانب اران روز دوشنبه چهارم شعبان

سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و ستمایه

در کوه هشتاد سرکه میان اهر و سیاه است او را شهید کردند و محی را بعد از مدتی در میدان
تبریز یاساف رسانیدند و سعد الدوله اهری را فرار دادند و رضی الدین بابا فرما بد
خدا یکان سلاطین عهد شمس الدین خلاصه همه آفاق صاحب دیوان
سال ششصد و هفتاد سه نازد یکر شهید گشت دوشنبه چهارم شعبان
بولا دجکسان و آورد قیا از قان سویر غالی آوردند در ده سنه

خمس و ثمانین و ستمایه

یادشاهی ارغون خان بوقارا جنکسان لقب شد عظمی نام داشت امرار اچتم خاتون
نظر می کرد از این سبب از نظر پادشاه یفتاد با اروس و فرم می نهند و قورنوبان
و امیر او جان و زنگی بر پایا نویان و مخلوق مسورت کردند بجوشکاب فرستادند و او را
یادشاهی دعوت کردند آن مکتوب که بجوشکاف بپسته بود پیا مد و با خود بخدمت آورد
بفرموده بجوشکاف بوقارا قسمه از پست بدست خود بکشید و آن دیگر انرا یاساف رسانیدند
و از تاجیک امیر علی غاجی محاسن الدین صاحب و عماد الدین منجم و شمعون باور و روم قله و بها الدو
ابو کریم همه یاساف رسانیدند بجوشکاف را سویر غامیشی فرمود و باز کردند سوی خراسان
باز و قوف یافت که او را دل راست نیست بوغدی اخجی را با چندین در عقب فرستاد
چون بایتمیش قوشچی و عرب نای کورکان با ایشان مصاف کرد شکسته شد بگرفتند
حضرت آوردند یاساف خود رسیدن نزد کان هلا جو و قریبای را در رمضان برانغا
بقتل آوردند در شهر

مان ومانین وسمایه

و چون پادشاهی در دست فجاق میان شهزادگان بر سر گشت بود توغقای باید بر همه
مستولی شد و بر تخت بر کا و با تویی نشست ۴۰ و الله اعلم ۴۰

پادشاهی توقای

بیست و سه سال بود نسب او توقای بن مونکا تر همه را بقتل آورد و او بر تخت
نشست و پادشاهی بر او مستقر شد سلطان ارغون خان بر همه ایران زمین حکم راند
و سرانجام کار پیا رسید و بر پسر مرل بخت و رخت از جهان بر پشت و از دینی بقتل کرد
روز دوشنبه سابع الاول در آران و در سنه ۴۰

تسعين و سمایه

صندوق او را بجاس بردند طغاجار و قوجوبال بانکال و الجیداد بر قصد سلطان
ایداچی سوگند خورده بودند و او را بکشتند طوغانرا یفرینشادند و آذران شب که سلطان
ارغون وفات یافت قوجان و جوسی و سعدالدوله را بقتل آورد و یاساق رسانید و
اردو قبادرخانه طغاجار سعدالدوله را بکشتند کجا تو برادر ارغون خان بر تخت نشست

سلطنت کیکاؤ خان

سه سال و نه ماه بود و دوازده روز او را سه پسر بود و الفریکل پسرانشاه جین بود
بیست چهارم رجب ۴۹۰ بر تخت نشست هم مرا را باز داشت تا یار غوی پسر رسیدند
باز سوزغامیش کرد و طوغانرا باز داشت بودند امیر اقباقورکان اردو قبادرخانه را بکشتند

برایغ فرستاد تا او را یاساق رسانند و بر و مر رفت و امیر شکرش را بیایب خود در آرد و بگذارد
 آواره لشکرش نام بود و ملک اشرف قلعه الروم حصار کرده بود و شیخ سعدی ناسع عشرین
 ذی الحجه سنه ۴۴۰ از دینی نقل کرد و یکی از شعرا در حق او گفته است شعر

هات روح پاک شیخ سعدی	ذی الحجه از ص آن سال
شب سینه از گذر روز	پشتان از غبار تن پر و پاک

چون امیر اقبوفا کورکان بجانب روم مجرب لشکرش نام رفت پادشاه شهزاده طاجو بن
 منکوتمر بن هلاکو خان و یوغدی احتاجی و طغاجار و اینا و تاجی را یکجمله لشکر روم فرستاد و جو
 کجا رسیدند لشکرش نام تا بگذشتند قلعه الروم گرفتند و از آنجا ماران آمدند و وزارت
 بصدرا الدین طغاجار دادند و صلح جهان لقب کردند و جاویدترین یون آمدند سنه

تلای و تسین و ستاره

سبت آن بود که سلطان لیخا توار بولاد جنگسان پوسیده در مملکت قان حاجت خای
 تجمل و اسباب زرینه می گویند بسیار است علت چیست جواب داد که آنجا را هیچ جاوست
 ز ر و تفرقه که هست بآلت می سازند از آن جهت آن هوس بیاینها و لیکن بجای نرسید
 شهزاده باید و در بغداد بود و حسیان آغاز کرد و محمد سلورجی شهنشاه بغداد را بکشت
 خبر پادشاه رسید که باید و یاغی شد و چند از امرا با او متفق اند پادشاه ایشان را با تفتان
 او علی سر باید و محبوبش کرد و در تبریز و امیر اقبعا کورکان را با طغاجار بکشت باید و فرستاد
 باید و عازم شده بود چون بخا تو رسیدند طغاجار بیایند و کردید امیر اقبعا کورکان از
 سری صدق و اعتقاد پال مراجعت کرد در رودخانه اهر یکجا تو پیوست پادشاه خاصان
 که عازم روم کرد و اینا فان گذاشتند پلسوار رسید امیر حسن بطرغی از وی بگریخت

در نیم شب و بیدار رفت و امرا که با پسر باید و قنجا و غل مجنون بودند سخن عربی را
 کورکان طولدار و قوجوقبال و الجیداء و بغدادی بیرون آمدند قنجا و غل پیش رفت و رفت
 کخا تورا هزاره بار و مکر رفتند با امرا و بوکال و هزاره ایلدار و زاجای بی صلا کویسردند
 تا یاساق رسانند در شهر

اربع و تسعین و ستایه

باید و از بغداد بیامد و بر تخت نشست چون کل کمر عمر بود و الله اعلم

سلطنت باید و خان

شش ماه بود غازان در خراسان بود بیامد بخمد و در میان شش ماه مصاف دادند روز
 پنجشنبه مقدم رجب جنگی عظیم بگردند قصد آدمی در میان از جانب کشته شد
 باز امراء در میان افتادند و صلح کردند که باید و با چند عدد و غازان با چند عدد
 که از ده پیشتر نباشد از لشکر بیرون آیند و بایکدیگر بمواجهه بجای بکشد از طرف باید و
 طفا جار طولدار و قوجوقبال الجیداء و از طرف غازان نوروز نورین سوای بر
 بلند میانی لشکر فرو دادند و بعد از مبالغه و قال و قبل بسیار بران قرار کردند
 که غازان بجانب خراسان رود و باید و بر قرار پادشاه باشد و از جانب لشکر باید و جمع
 می آمدند و در آن روز که کخا تورا ضلالت کردند با ناجی انیاف و دیگران امیر اقبعا
 کورکان را گرفته بودند و نکه می داشتند قوجوقبال پیش باید و رفت و او را بران
 داشت تا اقبعا را شهید کرد و غازان بجانب خراسان رفت و نوروزین ارغون اقا را
 بجهت برلیغ خراسان و عراف وارد و ما خرائین عم و پدر بگزاشت باید و یک هفته در تعویق

انداخت و می گفت بامن یکی شو بخالف غازان نوروز سوکند خرد که من سر غازان
پیش تو فرستم یا غرا ترا بسته پیش تو فرستم

زهی مرد دانا که هنگام زور	برآرد ز گردون گردنه شور
و اگر جان حیات بدیست	رهاند با فسون از آن جان خویش

نوروز از پیش پادشاه روانه شد بغیر و زکوه دماوند پادشاه غازان رسید و باید و مراد مراغه
رها کرد و صدیق حال بگفت و از برای سوکند که خورده بود غرا نی با سر بسته پاید و فرستاد
صمه تحب کردند چون غازان خان بند پیردغ دشمن تحس بی کرد نوروز با مرا کشتاگر
پادشاه میخواهد که کار بر مراد او کرد و مسلمان شود که در نجوم و احکام و سیر مشایخ گفته اند
که در سنه اربع و سبعین و ستمایه پادشاهی بر تخت نشیند مسلمان تخت و تاج بروم قمر
کرد و چون حو سجانه و تعالی نور اسلام در دل غازان نهاد سخن نوروز کارگزار آمد و در
چهارم شعبان بر در کوشکی که تحت کاه ارغون بود بمقام اردماوند طوی عظیم بساختند
در حمام رفت و غسل کرد و شیخ صدرالدین ابرهیم حموی کلمه شهادت تلقین کرد
غازان و همه ارکان دولت مسلمان شدند و از آن طرف اردو لایب باید و طغا جار ملول
شد بود و صدرالدین ریحان بسبب آنکه وزارت جمال الدین سجودان دادند دلیل شد
بود بکریخت غازان پیوست غازان روز آذینه بجانب ری حرکت کرد نوروز را با پنج
هزار مرد بمقلا و فرستاد امیر جوان و فرشی بدو پیوستند که خسته طغا جار و بغدادی احتاجی
دیگر نوروز پیوستند باید و مهرم شد نوروز هر تبریز رفت کلیسا مارا و کشتی را خراب
کرد فرشی با سادی و چهار هزار مرد در عقب باید و رفتند او را بکریخت پیش نوروز
آوردند و خبر غازان فرستادند و سوادنی احتاجی را بفرستاد تا در تبریز با غجه

کا و باید و با تمام رسانید یاد شاه در بر نرآمد و از اینجا بموقان واران رفت
پیش نو بگر آباد نزول کرد و بر سر بر باد ساهی نشست و عالم تعدل و اضافی کار

سلطنت محمود غازان خان

هشت سال و شش ماه بود از محرم شهر ۷۰۰ سنه

خمس و تسعين و ستمایه

سلطنت برو مقرر شد طغاجار را بروم فرستاد از جانب خراسان او را
یا غی بود نوروز را بخراسان فرستاد سوکای بنیشموت مخالفت پیش گرفت
هور غداق را بالشرک از آن فرستاد تا در صدد خرقان او را بگرفت بیام
رسانید امر را باید و را تو کال در پنج روز می امرو پنج هزار

بیام ساق رسیدند خرمی را بروم فرستاد تا طغاجار را بیام ساق رسانید میان
نورین و نوروز مخالفتی بود و صدر جهان از نوروز می هر اسید قیصر نامی که
از پیش پادشاه مصر آمد بود حلیت کرد کاغذی بنیشت مزور و در پهلوی حاجی برادر
نوروز نشسته بود آن مکتوب در کیسه او نهاد و از عصیان نوروز سلطانرا خبر داد
معلقان نوروز را بگرفتند پسرش را آورد و بیا بگرفتند بیام ساق رسانیدند در

جمادی الاخر سنه ۷۰۰ و تسعين و ستمایه

بعد از آن صائیش ناب نوروز با پسرش مبلغ نور و حاجی را بیام ساق رسانیدند با
کمال کوچک و لشکر گورکان برادر نوروز و قلعنایه را بالشرک از آن بخراسان فرستاد
و از بیستون خربند را نیز بخراسان فرستاد نوروز بقلعه همراه رفت و پناه بدانجا برد

ملک هراة اورا بکرفت و بسیار در ریست و سیم سوال او را برد و هرات یاساق
 رسانیدند و سر او را از دست بولا دنیا حضرت فرستادند صدر جهان را التعداد اند
 روز پنجشنبه شانزدهم ذی الحجه پای قبه عالی نهادند و قلعه شاه از خراسان
 مراجعت کرد و سویر غالی یافت و در رجب طاجواغل بن منکو مر را با چهار نوکر
 یاساق رسانیدند بکنار آب دلان ناورد در سه سه

سبع و سبعین و سیمايه

تو و پر صدر جهان بظهور آمد که در حق نور روز کرده بود روز یکشنبه سیم و سیم
 رجب یاساق رسانیدند را و جان و وزارت سعدالدین ساوچی دادند و در محرم
 سلطان عارف شام شد سیه و رایات هایون بر سه قشکی حصر فرو داد لشکر شام

برسید در بارخ سه تسع و سبعین و سیمايه

صفها را مت کردند مقدم لشکر امیر جوان و سلطان سیاوگ و ایلبا سمین بود مصریان بعد
 خود مستظهر بودند برایشان زدند پادشاه و لشکر برسید و لشکر یکبار حمله آوردند
 لشکر شام شکست و هزیمت شد پادشاه حصر گرفت و از آنجا بدمشق رفت جموع
 خلافت شام بالضرر للغي بگویندند فایده ندارد دمشق را نیز محاصره و قلع قیا را بشکستند
 و امیر قلعه شاه و امیر جوان را با لشکر آنجا فرستاد و پادشاه مراجعت کرد مصریان
 جز در یافتند که ایشان قلعی دارند پیا میزند و با ایشان مصاف کردند قلعه شاه را شکستند
 و از لشکر او بسیار قتل آوردند گویند که قلعه شاه در پیش می گریخت امیر جوان توقف
 کرد و آتش داد بچتن و بختکان می داد و نمی گذاشت که کسی راه بماند و آن جرعه قوی
 بود هر که از آن لشکر حضرت برسیدند بیک نامی و مردانگی اومی گفتند و در دل سلطان اثر
 کرد

اور امیرالوس نصب کرد و نام ذریع آور دند چون نامش ایران بعدک پادشاه اسلام زینتی
 گرفت و دست ظالم از مظلوم کوتاه کرد و خواجه رسید الدین در زمان او بطیبی منسوب بود
 از بزرگان همدان بود و مولانا قطب الدین شیرازی یوسته در صحبت می بود
 و تربیت خواجه رسید الدین می کرد و چون خاندن در خراسان بود و از امر امور عدل
 و امیر علی قوی و هروقت نکایات ایشان رعایا خراسان بجز می رسانیدند
 پادشاه مولای دیوان خراسان داد و بد آنجا فرستاد و چنین گویند که امیر سعید
 اتفاقا کورکانرا که باید و سخن فوجی قبال شنید کرده بود و او را دو پسر بود امیر حسین و
 موسایل چون سلطان بخت نسبت حال عرض کردند فوجی قبال را بدست ایشان داد
 تا خاص کردند و همین خود او و جنای سلطان را با امیر حسین طاب ثراه داده بود
 و ایشانرا خراسان فرستاد پیش خاندن که مادر هر دو بلغان بزرگ بود و سلطان از قه
 بود و خواجه علینا شیرازی در اول کار دلال بود که بجهت امر او خواتین فاشات
 خریدن و پسر نواب سلطان او و جنای خواتین نیز معرفتی داشت جنای هروقت که اجناس
 و ما محتاجی که در بایست می بود اشارت با وی کردند و او نیز در خدمت ایشان
 برفت مردانی بود اما عقل و کپاستی تمام داشت و چون در زیر سایه صاحب دولت
 نشست آن مرتبه یافت و سلطان غار از در ناچین فروین موضع پیشکرو و در حنی عارض
 شد اطبا از معالجه عاجز شدند در **سنة**

ثلاث و سبعایه

روز یکشنبه یا تردمر سوال وفات یافت مدت عمرش بی و دو سال بود و در دشت
 قنجا قلموغنا هم درین سال وفات یافت و او را پسری بود ایلبا صمیش نام و فادان

امیر بزرگ بود و می خواست که بعد از غزان ایلبا صمیش را بر تخت نشاند و زبک بن طویجه
در خوارزم را قلع مور متفق شدند و با هم تعزیت پادشاه در آرد و رفتند و در آن میان
از بیک کار دی بر ایلبا صمیش زد و قلع مور کار دی بر فداق و هر دو را بکشتند و پادشاهی
باز بیک کردید و بر سر بر سلطنت نشست والله اعلم

پادشاهی از بیک خان

در دست فجاف چهل سال بود نسب او از بیک بن طویجه بن مونکا مور بن نوای
بن بطوی بن حوجی بن جیکر خان و بعد از واقعه غزان خان امر مکتوب نوشتند به مور غزان
که قصد خدایند کند و الفرنک سیرکیقا تور را بخود آرد تا بر تخت نشاند امیر علی قوچمی را
از آن مکتوب واقف گردانیدند در شب سلطان خدایند خبر کرد الفرنک را همان شب
در خانه خود بکشتند و بامداد مور غراق لشکر جمع کرد بر پیسته رفت لشکر را اسبالت
می داد نامصاف کند سلطان مجال نداد بر فردا ندید بهر غایت شد در عقب رفتند و لا بد او را
بگرفت پیاد و دیاساف می نمایند و سلطان از خراسان پیامد و بر تخت نشست و چهار را
بعد از بیاراست دوم دی الحجه والله اعلم

سلطنت محمد خدابنده

دوازده سال و دوماه و نیم بود لقب او غیاث الدین و الدین محمد خدابنده اولجایتو
سلطان او را شش سربود بایرند و سبطام و طیفور و ابوسعید اول انسان پادشاه
در طفولیت بخوارزم پیوستند و ابوسعید دوم بوجود آمدیم در سنه

اربع و سیمایه

بنیاد سلطانیه نهاد و متوجه جیلان شد در ده شهر سنه مذکور
امیر قلعه شاه را آنجا بقتل آوردند بایشیخ برق و سلطان مراجعت کرد پسران انبارچی را
ایسن مژور و قونجی بیا ساق رسانیدند در سنه

و مولانا قطب الدین شیرازی وفات یافت روز شنبه دهم عاشور بود و خواجه رشید الدین
مربوب نام داشت بجزرت و پیوسته ملازم می بود و سلطان عمر و ولایت شام کرد در

سنه

و برجه رفت حصار کرد بید و بولاد فیما را آنجا بشکلی بگذاشت و مراجعت کرد و
بسلطانیه آمد و بعد از رفت ده سنه

ست و سیمایه

سعد الدین ساوجی را با شهاب الدین مبارک شاه و محی سیر جلال طوره و زین الدین
ماسنری و داود شاه بقتل آوردند در محول بغداد وزارت خواجه رشید الدین
و خواجه تاج الدین علی شاه تفویض رفت و احکام بسیار مطالعه رفت است که
علامت هردو بر آنجا بوده است اول رشید طیب و قرع علی شاه ترخان سوزی
و چند سال گویند که سلطان زمستان می رفت بکاو باری و تابستان در سلطانیه
می بود ولایت معمر و لشکر مربوب سلطان اولجا یثو و اولجنا ی سلطان و هردو
برادر و خواهر گویند که سلطنت میان اینان بترکت بود که سلطان را بالای ارادت او
همچو گلی نبود و بیک اشارت اولجنا ی سلطان طاب تراها سلطان خدا بنده طاب مشوا ه
خواجه علی شاه وزارت داد ابو سعید را در حصانت امیر سوخ بن شیشی بخش بود بکراس

فرستاد در سنه اربع عشر و سبعایه

وامیر حسین را سلطان عظیم مردوست می داشت اول آنکه داماد پادشاه بود دوم
از همه امر آحییب و نیب تر بود و یوسته در صحبت می بود و گویند در روزمر این
بود برادر بلغان خان تون که مادر سلطان بود سلطان اینه پیشلامی کرد
یک روز بشکارت رفت عارضه بروی مستولی شد روز پنجشنبه سلج رمضان سنه

ست عشر و سبعایه

وفات یافت مدتی عمرش سی و هشت سال و نه ماه بود امیر محمود تبریزی
در مرثیه او گفت

و قاتل خسر و آفاق شاه خربند	به قصد دوده و شش بود جمعه سلج صیا م
اگر وی آدمی بود اعقاد من است	که دیگران همه نفس اندر در حتما م

ملکت پیرش رسید و از خراسان پیامد و بر تخت نشست . . . والله اعلم

پادشاه ابوسعید دهلوی

نوزده سال بود لقب او علاءالدین و والدین و لادین او در سنه اربع و سبعایه
هستم ذی قعد بود در شهر

ست عشر و سبعایه

پادشاه شد بر عالم حکم راند و اوجاء قلع دختر سلطان غازان را با او دادند خط
مغلی و پاریس نیک می دانست و نیک می نشست بهترین روز کاری و ایامی از دولت مغل
روزگار سلطنت او بود در روزم امیر ابونجین در خراسان ایسن قلع بود وزارت از آن

خواجه رسید و خواجه علی شاه بود امیر و لوس جوان بود امیر و غوغو بود
 بن بقا بار غوجی در کر جستان فرشی بود در دیار بکر سوتای بود در باب الباب
 برزنگی بود و چون وفات سلطان سعید اولجا تو منتشر شد از بیک خان هوسران
 در دل داشت بر زبان آورد و بالشکر علیه قصد این دیار کرد و از در بند بگذشت بیرون
 آمد بغار نیدند تا بکنار کریمادیل کونی که از آن سوی آب بود که نتوانست گذشت
 در دست ایشان اسیر شدند و ازین سو سلطان ابوسعید و امیر جوان با تاست
 امر بکنار آب رفتند و لشکر بکنار آب فرود آمدند و حرب پیوست و پیتر جنگی
 کردند عاقبت از بیک مراجعت کرد در ۵۰۰ سنه

مان شروسبعایه

خبر با ابوسعید رسید چند امیر در عقب بفرستاد تا از در بند بگذرانند بعد از آن
 باز گشتند و در قرا باغ آران ساکن شدند و گویند فرشی بآن
 فرسید امیر جوان حکم یا ساق جنگران با ابوسعید عرضه داشت حکم برلغ نافر شد او را
 او را جواب چند بردند فرشی از اینجا بکر جستان رفت و عصیان آغاز کرد و از کاشکان
 امیر جوان یک دو کس بقتل آورد امیر جوان چون واقف شد با آنکه لشکری با هم شکار
 بیرون رفت چون به طرف رسیدند در نزدیکی کوجه دگر بفرشی رسید و او با عدت
 بود و حرب کردند لشکر امیر جوان شکست خورد و خودش از آب بیفتاد اسیر کشیدند
 سوار شد و بیرون رفت قتل تمام و غارتی قوی بگردند امیر جوان بخوان آمد و از اینجا
 پیتر برآمد خواجه علی شاه از پیتر لشکری راست گرد پیتر جوان برد و از اینجا سلطان رینه
 رفتند سلطان ابوسعید و امیر جوان در سلطانیه از اطراف لشکر جمع کردند فرشی

بدعوت ابرخین کس فرستاد بدو پوست و شیخ علی پسرش درآورد و پیش پادشاه بود او را
 بگرفتند و باز داشتند بآشد که ابرخین درآمد خورده بخرید آید فایده نداد قرمش
 در عقب پیرز آمد و با وجان رفت و در نزد یکی زنکان مصاف کردند و جنگی عظیم
 بستند شیخ علی پسر امیر علی قوشچی مردانگی نمود و جلودی از آن او بود و قرمش شکسته
 شد بهزیمت رفتند و سلطان ابوسعید جنگی شک کرد آن روزها در لقب شد و آن امرا
 همه بگرفتند و بیاوردند و شیخ علی بن ابرخین را در پیش جنگ بگرفتند ابرخین
 و قرمش و وفادار ترمناس و سنکاس پسران طاس که همشیر سلطان غازان بودند
 ارس و تقاق پسران تکجاک ابسغایوسف بکارا در سلطانیه بیا ساق رسانیدند

در شهر سنه تسع عشر و سبعایه

بعد از آن چون ابوسعید کوچل بود چوبان جمله مملکت فرو گرفت و عزمران کرد
 که انتقام از بیک خان کند و سر جمع کرد و روی پستروان نهاد و از آنجا لشکر بدو قسم
 کرد بعضی امرا از در بند نایبنا را بترک برفتند و امیر چوبان با پسران خود از راه
 کرچستان در وقت از بیک خبردار شد از جای خود بهزیمت شد و آن خبری مری بود
 و مدت چند آنجا بودند باز مراجعت کردند چوبان بر همه عالم مسئولی شد و م
 بمورناتش داد خراسان امیر حسین داشت آنجا ستونی شد در سنه

صندوق او را بتبریز آوردند حسن را آنجا فرستاد شیخ محمود را بکرچستان فرستاد
 و خواجه رشید را در تبریز بایپرش خواجه ابرهیم شهید کرد حاجی دلقندی خراسانی
 در سنه ثمان عشر و سبعایه

جمالی الاول

باشاره امیر جوبان و خواجه علیشاه جمله الملک شد و آن عمارت در بتر بنیاد نهاد
 و نور تاش در روم بود و چند قلمها بکسود و بترک فرمان در آتش برد و چون
 در روم آن شوکت اورا پیدا شد و آن فتح قلمها بشد عصیان پیش آورد و نام خود بر
 کنار درم ابوسعید بداد بنیست چون خبر با امیر جوبان رسید در روز عازم گشت
 و نور تاش را از روم بیاورد پیش سلطان ابوسعید و گفت کناه کار است یاساق سلطان
 سلطان اورا بیدر بخسید امیر نور تاش آن سال در اردو بود و پیوسته خواجه
 علیشاه را هدیه می داد که حساب عال بامن روشن کن و غیاث الدین محمد مرشد
 نیابت او داشت و گویند که او ترغیب می کرد برخاستن محاسبه و چندان که خواجه
 علیشاه خدمت می کرد فایده نمی داد یک روز در او جان با امیر جوبان عرض کرد
 که پیرت از من حساب میخواهد گفت برو بده چون از آن خبر نویسد گشت روز
 چند رنجور شد و از دنیا رفت کرد در شهر سنه

اربع عشر من بیعایه

و گویند چیزی خورد و هلاک شد وزارت پیر از ضیاء الملک عادل دادند صاین وزیر
 لقب شد اما مملکت در دست دمشق خواجه بن امیر جوبان بود و او تصرف می کرد و آن
 بجان را جز نامی پیش نبود در وزارت شوکت امیر جوبان با سمان رسید نور تاش روم
 رفت و آن ناحیه فرو گرفت شیخ محمود که جستان فرو گرفت حسن خراسان داشت
 تاتار حسن امارت فارس و کرمان داشت دمشق خواجه ادر جان و عراق پیش خاص خود
 کرده بود و ابوسعید دانا می بود از پادشاهی باج دی که نواب امیر دمشق خواجه عرض
 کردند که ابوسعید اوجه شیلان نیست گفت هر روز او را دو مزرع کافیست سید برهان

عبری وشمس الدین البرغوثی و حسام بلوردی از علما آن زمان در صحبت او می بودند و
با ایشان نفسی و صحبتی می داشت و امیر جوان در اطراف می گردید و یک هفته یک جای

قرار نمی گرفت و در سنه سبع و عشرين و سبعایه

جانب خراسان رفته بود که پیش از آن زمستان از دیوینغاد بود و امیر شیخ حسن جوان
در قریب باغ بود مجموع ادریجان و موغان و آران و سروان حکم او بود ایلی خان از
جانب خطای بر آه از یک خان بیامد و ایلی از یک خان نیز با او منضم گشت بیغاد باز دو
آمدند و جناح و ظایف باشد بگذارند و باز مراجعت کردند امیر جوان ایشانرا از راه
همدان بر آه کرد و او از راه سنتی پیش از ایشان بقراباغ آمد چون ایلیان برسیدند
امیر جوان از در قریب باغ دیدند نامت اساس قشلاق مرتب کرده تخرآورده و
تعجب کردند و چون این خبر بقیان رسید امارت چهار الوس بر او مقرر شد و نام او در
چهار برلیغ در آمد خطای و جغتای و دشت قفجاق و ایران زمین و از آنجا کفنه شد
که مجموع لشکر گردان بر داشت با قوشتی و نواب خود و امرا او و کرج و دیگران خراسان
کشید و امیر دمسوخواجه در اردو بر همه عالم حکم می راند و چون هرکالی از والی هست
و هر دولت را و بای احوال برود دیگر کون شد و کار او نقصانی گرفت اذاتم امر

دنی نقصه

چو دنیا را بقای نیست سلطانیت درویشی

چونغت را زوالی هست درویشیت سلطان فی

علی شاه ایورنی و کبشکاف خواتون و خواجه لولوبا امرا که در حضرت بودند با سلطان
مفق شدند و قصد امیر دمسوخواجه کردند و او در قلعه سلطانیه بود بیرون جست

وَرَأَوْهُ خُرَاسَانَ كَرَفَتْ مَضْرُوجَةً دَرِغَمَتْ بِرُسَيْدٍ بَاغِيهِ كَرَدَ رُوزِ دُوشنبَه خَامِسِ سَوَالِ
 ۸۲۸ سُلْطَانِ اَزَانِ مَعْنِي سَخْتِ بِخُشْدِ الْفَاتِ لَا يَسْتَدْرِكُ مَا حَاجِي سَوْدِي وَحَسَامِ الدِّنِ
 بَاوردی وشمس الدین البرغو سید برهان الدین بیاد موی خلاص یافت چو باینا را

تغاری بند در
 س
 مان عسری و بیعایه

دیگر امرا نومان و هزار

چون این خبر بچو بان رسید لشکر یکسید تابساوه بیامد و سلطان ابو سعید در
 سلطانیه لشکر جمع می کرد دولت شاه بسراغودر کردستان بود سلطان یوسف
 غلبه جمع شدند با بابر برفتند چون خبر بامیر جو بان رسید که سلطان بحر می آید
 گفت مرا عهد است که تمیز بر تخت هلاکو خان نگنم پس نورین نیک روز را بر سالت
 فرستاد چون بیامد باز رفت بدیگر امرا می آمدند و حضرت می پوشیدند تا بحدی که
 خواجه علی غلام زاده او از او بگریخت امیر جو بان بخارسان مراجعت کرد و در وی لاجت
 نهاد سلطان حاجی طغای را با چند امیر هزاره چون شیخ محمد مولاید و عنبر در عقب
 بغیر سواد گویند امیر جو بان را کار بیکل آمد با فرزندان و نوکران چند که با او بودند بر
 جماره نشینند روی بگریختند و دندنا بسرحد ما زدن دان رسیدند آنجا اتفاق
 کردند که بجانب هراة روند پیش ملک ناصر الدین حسن گفت او مردی محبلس است و پدر او
 با نوروز می دانید که کرد چون نوروز را بجا ببرد نوروز را بگریخت و بسیار در
 تابا سواد رسید پیش او رفتن مصلحت نیست امیر جو بان گفت او را با من عهد است و گویند
 و طریقی فتنه داری دارد تا چاره می باید رفت حسن مبالغه بسیار کرد امیر جو بان نشیند و روی
 بسوی هراة نهاد حسن با سپرش تالش ازید و مفارقت کرد امیر جو بان با جلوه خان و

فوشتای و فرانیکی بقلعه هراة رفت ملک ناصرالدین امیرا سید کرد حسن و ناصر از راه
 خراسان و مرسی از نیک خان رفتند و اینجا امیرا سید را هلاک کردند شیخ محمود را دلو غار از آن
 بگریخت در الداغ بگریز آورد تا توکل شهنشاه بگریز آورد و هلاک کرد مورد تاش بگریخت
 پیش ناصر سلطان مصر او را مجبوس کرد ناصر سلطان ابو سعید دینور را بگریستاد که بدینجا آمد
 ناصر اندیشه کرد و او را بقتل آورد و چون احوال جوانان با خرامد و گویند صاین
 زیر را امیر جوان بگشت در آن وقت که خبر دمشق بدور رسید و ملک بر ابو سعید
 مستقل شد ایارت اولوس بر امیر تاج الدوله و ولدین انوسروان عهد شیخ حسن طاب ثواب
 مقرر شد که همه اصل بر و عه زاده سلطان بود وزارت بغیاث الدین محمد بن
 خواجه رسید و علاء الدین محمد دادند و ملقب محمد و جهانینان و محمد و جهانینان شدند
 خراسان باری طغای دادند و علاء الدین محمد را با ابو سعید دادند و مر را محمد
 برادر علی آسناه دادند و بغداد و آن طرف علی آسناه دادند که حبشان با قبال تاه
 بن قلعشاه دادند در بند باقی دادند دیار بگریز و ارساق بر سونای مقرر شدند
 عالم آبادان و لشکر مرتب و مردم بطرب و عیش مشغول می بودند در میان بهشت
 آبادی شده بود و جوانان می گفتند شعر

چاف سلطان بوسعیدست عیش کن ای خدایا بنده دار این خا نرا
 و سلطان را با اهل فضل و عرفا می بود و شعر نیز می گفت این دو بیت است او است

بر سبیل المودج ذکر می رود	شعر
بنات پاک خدای چه شایم دادست	بنادای و غم دینی جوینگری بادست
دوم که ملت اسلام روزیم کردست	که نفس پاک همه مومنان بدانند دست

بیا بصر دلم نادیده جان بینی که از روی دلم دهوای بغداد است

و در سنه تسع و عشرين و مئیدعا به

تاریخ طغای در خراسان فتولی کرد سلطانیه آوردند با طاشقور بن کوچی یاسک
رسانیدند و خراسان بسخ علی پسر امیر علی قوشچی دادند و روم را بمیرزاده محمود
ابن قلع دادند و محمد بکر را معزول کردند سلطنت از آن ابوسعید و امارت
از آن امیر ناج الدوله الدین شیخ حسن بود غیاث الدین محمد شهید چنان بر مزاج سلطان
منولی شد بود که مجموع حل و عقد در دست او بود یا رغوی و دیوانی مغل و ناجیک را
فضا با بردار و بود و در شهر سنه

لش و لیثین مئیدعا به

پان سلطان و امیر صاحب اغراض قسمی انداختند که با خداوند کار بغداد دختر امیر
چوبان متفق شده اند و قصد پادشاه کرده اند تا بر موکی ابراهیم بنیاد این فتنه نهاد
و بعضی غنای امیر احمد رسید رسید او بخدمت عرض کرد و سلطان عظیم ازین معنی برخیزد
امیر ناج الدوله الدین شیخ حسن را بر و فرستاد و مدت یک سال انجا بود و سلطان
آن زمینان در بزرگداشت و سورغان پسر امیر چوبان را با مادرش ساطی یک همسیر
خود بفراباغ فرستاد و در سنه

ثلاث و لیثین مئیدعا به

پادشاه بغداد رفت و فراباغ را بجهت یک قوشچی پسر ابتمیس قوشچی داد و در سنه احد
و لیثین انوروان خانن بنت امیر شیخ علی بن امیر حسین را طاب شواها پسر از بیک خان دینی
دادند و انجا فرستادند بخت فجاف بیارق نام و در سنه مذکور سلطان بغداد رفت

وزیرستان انجا بود در بهار سلطانیه آمد و در ده سنه

اربع و لمین

ایناق مسافر را برگزیده بود و غیاث الدین محمد هاشمی خود شاهی خوانده از آن بدو داده بود و نام او در برلیغ آورده و زمستان باز بغداد رفت و برلیغ فرستاد که امیر شیخ حسن بجانب کرجستان رود امیر بدان جانب رفت و سورغان در قریب باغ بود کور کی ملک حسن امیر باج الدین و الدین شیخ حسن آمد و خدمتی هر چه تمام کرد و باز حکم پادشاه شد که تمامت روم را از آن امیر باج الدین شیخ حسن بایستد انجا رود و امرا و که در اردو بودند بسبب تقرب غیاث الدین محمد و اینااق مسافر می سکا لیدند امیرزاده محمود این قلعه و سلطان شاه نیک روز و محمد بیک قوشچ و ارتش و محمود شاه لاجو و محمد بیلین بک روز متفق شدند در سلطانیه بر در ایوان رفتند خاستند که آن دو کس را وزیر و مسافر بیکرند و سیاست کنند و سلیم بر خود راست کرده بودند وزیر دریافت با مسافر پیش پادشاه انداختند و رفتند امرا بر در پادشاه رفتند التماس خود بنظر او آوردند و انداختند و فرستادند که مابندگان سلطانیم اما دشمنان ما را با سپارد سلطان در خیمه رفت امرا که در اردو بودند حاضر گردیدند پادشاه چون دیدند که غلبه می شود او بی بگرز نهادند همه را دستگیر کردند پیش سلطان آوردند هر یکی را بقلعه فرستاد مگر ارتنا که بک سر پیش امیر شیخ حسن رفت امیر باجی فرستاد و خون او را از سلطان درخواست بدو بخشید و با امیر بروم رفت بعد از آن او را لشکر از نیک بود پادشاه بفرمود تا مجموع لشکر بغداد و دیار بیک آن مال باران رفتند و در اقصو بنیستند و سلطان در عقب بقر باغ رفت

و بخورشند روز چند در ربع الاول شهر سنه

ست و بیست و هجده

بعالم بقا خرامید او گریخ وار توقسا بن القوسورغان و غیاث الدین مهران اتفاق کردند
چون از فرزندان هولا کو بادت مغل کس نبود اربا کون دایا وردند و بر تخت نشاندند

و عالم در زرخش کم آو شد و الله اعلم

بادشاهی ارباخان

شش ماه بود چون بر تخت نشست امراء که سلطان سعید محبوس کرده بود
در مملکتها بیرون آورد جاساق و سیاست مغل پیش گرفت و بیرلغ سلطان خدا بند و
ابو سعید که عرض می کردند ملتفت نمی شد می گفت و بیرلغ سلطان غارت
عرض می کردند می گفت و بان کار می کردند مغل بود بسیار دان عاقل دانا اما امر
مالی که بود بجز یکی می داد و در ربع الاول سنه مذکور بغداد خاتون را شهید
کردند و سبب آن بود که با ازیک خان مکانات داشت و او را با پیران آمدن ترغیب
کرد و چون واقع سلطان ابو سعید بدشت فحاج رسید از نیک خان جرس هوش بختاید
و باز عزیمت پیران کرد و از در بند بگذشت بکنار کرامد و ارباخان نیز لشکر برب
آب برد و مقابله بیکدیگر فرود آمدند و چند روز جنگ می کردند و پیر و آن سال
باران بود و علف بود که غلبه پیران را کفاف باشد و مجال عبور نه از نیک خان برگزار
آب آمد و شمشیر بر آب زد گفت بهادر توئی باز لشکر مرا حجت کرد و برفت ارباخان
شیخ جوبان و حاجی حمزه و خمار زاده رعقب بفرستاد با امراء چند و لشکر مقد از در بند

مگذشت ایشان بر کوه سروان رفتند و باز پادشاه میوسند و در قرا باغ ساکن شدند
و در متصرف رجب محمود شاه انجور ایپا ساق رسانیدند که سردی محیل بود و با
غیاث الدین محمدی سکالید بسبب وزارت و ساطی بکل را در جباله ارباخان آورد
آورده بودند و چون اربا بر تخت نشست سلیمان بهادر را حضرت امیر تاج الدین
شیخ حسن طاب ثوابه فرستاد و پیام او بامیری الوش بالای امرادریر لیغ تجدید کرد
و گفت اوصیل است و دیگر فرزند بی وجود او مملکت مضبوط نشود و محفها و بیسار
فرستاد و علی باشاه در بغداد بود عصیان آغاز و یکی را پیدا کرد موسی نام از فرزندان
باید و بر تخت نشاند و خطبه و سکه در بغداد بنام او کرد و بامیر تاج الدین شیخ حسن
ایلی فرستاد که من و پادشاه من بنده اوست اگر فرصتی باشد از سایه آن سرور بآید

و در چهاردهم رمضان سنه ۸۳۶

روز چهارشنبه مصاف رفت میان علی باشاه و ارباخان در کتا رجفاتو با ارباخان
تصفت امیر هزاره بود که مجموع لشکر ایران در آن بود و با علی باشاه ده هزار مرد بنود
چون برابر ایستادند امراء که سلطان ابوسعید مجبوس کرده بود و ارباها پند
صه بسوی علی باشاه کردند چون محمود این قتلغ و سلطان شاه پیکر و زوا و کرخ
ایستاد در جای خود هیچ کوشش نکرد اربا چون آن بدید نرفت شد و علی باشاه ظفر
باخت و لشکر عقب برآند و غارت بسیار بگرفتند و پادشاهی برومقر شد و غیاث الدین
محمد را با برادرزاده امیر سلطان و جالین بهادر و مازوفی و نورنجی دستگیر کردند و بیایست
رسانیدند و در آن زمان که غیاث الدین محمد را پیش علی باشاه بردند علی پاشا پیام کرد
وزیر را بالای خود بنشاند و فریاد از امراء که همه بی رسمی بر مغل او آورده است باز بالا

می نشیند بعد از آن علی پاشا گفت حاجی محمد روا باشد که ابوسعید از دنیا نقل کرد تو
 از بار ابروخت نشاندی هیچ پیغامی و اشارتی بجانب مانگر دی و بعد از آن شش ماه گذشت
 مکتوبی نفرستادی گفت اختیار من چندان بود که ابوسعید در قید حیات بود بعد از آن
 اختیار از دست بگذشت که آری با سخن علفیات نمی کرد و کلمات جوین می راند عطا ملک
 حاضر بود گفت ای محمد دوم جو جای این کلمات است از در عجز و اضطراب را باشد که خلاص یابی
 هیچ التفات نکرد نظر بعلی پاشا کرد و گفت سه سخن بندگی امیر دارم و قسم یاد کرد که پیش من
 آن سه کلمه هیچ یکی را بر یکی ترجیح نیست اول آنکه پدرم مقام ساخته است مرا بخشی تا آنجا
 و مرد رکنی و بعد از کثرت عبادت بر سر برم دوم آنکه یا مرا باز بسفل خود صب کنی
 یا جرات و جلالت و کفایت من در باب پادشاهی خود بینی سیم یا آنچه در دل دارم
 بگذار علی پاشا سرخ پیش انداخت امرا او را در ربودند و پیرون بردند و شهید کردند

شعر

رکن سر روی کفته باشد

وقت است کاختران امرو ز
 سبز پوشان کنند ازرق
 آفتاب آفتاب بزرگ بوند
 که وزوی ندان بزرگی را

بر سر از جو رخ خاک کنند
 جامه بر خود جو صبح چاک کنند
 آه و فزاید سوزناک کنند
 بجنین خوارش هلاک کنند

و منی اللطال و انوار

کرومی که در دولت و شاد کانی
 بزم سنان فلکها می کشادند

کلاه از سر هر و می ر بودند
 بزرگ قلم بندهای می کشودند

راج و جود انجان محو کنند که کوی خود آن قوم هرگز نبود
 علی با و موسی خان را و جان آمدند و مملکت فرو گرفتند و ارباب را در سلطانیه بگرفتند
 و یاوردند بدست محمد پسر محمود شاه و بجود دادند تا بقصای خون بر بکشت و عالم
 اساسی دیگر گرفت و جهان نوعی دیگر شد و الله اعلم

بادشاهی موسی خان

چهار ماه بود نامریش بود سلطنت از آن علی با شاه بود وزارت را محمود پسر امیر علی
 کرد دادند و در برلیغ پادشاه و التماس وزیر می نشستند امیر شیخ حسن او کرج اوطق شاه
 محمود این قلع علی با شاه چون را و جان فرار گرفت سلطان شاه و نیک روز را
 بفرستادند شهرشان رسیدی را بنجارید امراء که بودند بعضی پیش علی با شاه آمدند
 و بعضی بشیر عازم امیر شیخ حسن شدند اول حاجی طغای پسر سونای بابوران
 و برادران همه بر امیر تاج الدوله و الدین شیخ حسن جمع با حاجی طوقناک و شیخ
 محمد مولای و امیر نرغیس می کردند بر بخاری به قبول می کردند و جواب می داد که میان ما
 میثاق است بدی نکم و شمارا با او صلح دهم و انا یکی خود طاعت نمودارافا را بفرستاد چون
 با و جان رسید بخد متعلی با شاه احوال بر نوعی دیگر دید و علی با شاه را باد دولت
 برون رفته بود و بر زمین نکاه نمی کرد و آن عهد فراموش کرده بود اتفاق پیش
 نکرد و باز داشت در خطبه کس فرستاد با میر که اینجا قضیه دیگر گوشت دانسته بیاید
 چون خبر رسید روز امیر بفرمود تا بکودک را یاوردند پیر حسین نام از اروق انبارگ
 و محمد خان لقب کردند و روز عید قربان بر تخت نشست بر عادت مغل و سورغان نو بانی تر

مُوجِبِ امیر شد و عزیر ایران کردند و پای تخت و علی باشا و موسی خاوند درش
 محتریک و او کرخ و اردو شاه و محمود این قتلغ و سلطانها و نیک روز از بر نیز
 قصد الداف کردند و در فرادیه هم رسیدند و مصاف دادند از یک سو امیر حاج الدین
 شیخ حسن در قلب باشا و میمنه حاجی طغای بود و میسر سورغان و ازین سو
 حاجی علی باشا و با ساد مقابل حاجی طغای و در قلب موسی خان و محتریک و در
 میمنه مقابل سورغان و او کرخ با ساد و جنگی عظیم نکردند حاجی طغای را علی باشا
 شکست و سورغان را او کرخ شکست امیر شیخ حسن و امیر ایلکان و قرا حسن و
 شیخ محمد مولاد در پیش بودند حمله آوردند موسی خان را شکستند و در پی علی
 رفتند و او را بین نیت کردند و حاجی طغای را لشکر رفته بود خود را تو که خد
 مراجعت کرد و سورغان نیز باز گردید او کرخ را شکست و در عقب رفتند علی باشا
 دست کتر کردند و امیر بر پشته فرود آمد علی باشا و زردند و یاساق رسانید
 و عالم با امیر شیخ حسن کردند و مملکت فرو گرفت در محرم سنه

سبع و تلیش و شعبان

جهان بعد و داد او را سنه شد و شاه یرلیغ و فتح ناصر با طرف فرستادند و امانی

نواحی منوجه حضرت شدند و کاتب همایون در تبریز نزول کرد و الله اعلم

بادشاهی محمد خان

دو سال بود سلطنت و بادشاهی بر در امیر شیخ حسن بود وزارت با میر جلال الدین
 ذکر بای بن محمد الدین حسین و مسعود شاه بن محمود شاه ایچودا دادند و دلشاد خان بن امیر

دستخواجه را در نکاح آورد عالم را سستی دیگر و رونقی خوشتر پیدا شد اما همراه حضرت
 آمدند و با انواع سوز و غالت مشرف گشتند مگر مصر خواجه که او را بقصاص امیر دستخواجه
 بکشتند و امیر آن زمستان در تبریز بود او کرخ و امیر زاده محمود روی گردان شدند
 حاجی طغای بدیاری بگردفت امیر سورغان بقرا باغ رفت حاجی طوغانک بغداد رفت با حضرت
 حرامی امیر قرا حسن باویرت رفت موسی خان و محمد بک و یاد کار و حاقط مجتمع شدند
 بودند مصاف کردند بر کنار راهش و کله پسر نقطه است قرا حسن تعجیل نمود پس از آنکه درک
 و بای قطب الدین بدو پیوندند جنگل کرد شکسته شد و پیر موسی برادرش را در میان آب
 بکشتند و او بهریمت نام بجفا نویا مد اویرت بغداد رفت حاجی طوغانک و حضرت با شایان
 مصاف کردند شکسته شدند شکسته هر دو را دستگیر کردند و بکشتند باز علیه بر
 ایشان جمع شد و در خراسان شیخ علی پسر امیر علی نوبختی طغای تورکون را بر تخت نشاند
 سکه و خطبه بنام او کرد و قصد کردند تخت ایران کرد و وزارت او را علاء الدین محمد داشت
 او کرخ باو پیوست و محمود این قلع باویرت ایشان را متفق گردانیدند با هم پیوستند
 و امیر راجح الدین جمع حسن از موغان متوجه ایشان شدند و سوز و غالت رسیدند
 و حاجی طغای از دیار بکر بالشکر خود پیامد و مصاف کردند در ذی قعد سنه

زمان و تلیس و سبعا

اویرت و شیخ علی شکسته شدند بعضی بجای بغداد و بعضی خراسان رفتند و لشکر در
 عقب ایشان برفت اغرو و بنه بغار یزدند موسی خان را قرا حسن دستگیر کرد و با او زیاده
 رسید او کرخ و محمود را هر دو بکرفتند و باز داشتند محرمیک را با حرم او قلع ملک خنجر کجا تو
 بود گردان بکشتند شیخ علی را در خراسان ارغوشاه بکشت و سرش را در دوفرشاد پیر نوروز

بن ارغون اقا نامت سلطنت و امارت ایران زمین بامیر حاج الدین شیخ حسن طاب
 متواہ مستقل شد دیار بکر حاجی طغای داد وارتنا در روم بخد مت می بود چون امیر
 عازم تخت شد او را بنیابت گذاشته بود همچنان روم بر روم قدر داشت سرور
 و دین با بنجران حاجی بیک داد بیک از در قراباغ تا بدر کرجستان بامیر شهبان
 داد سروان و تومان فرا وک بیک جو بان داد پسر آق بی موغان و هزار باروم
 بیوسفشاه خورش خود داد خراسان از در ری و قزوین تا آب آموی بیک محمد مولا بد
 داد ملک فارس و شیراز را بسعد شاه بن محمود شاه ایچو داد و در همان روز رفت
 که برادرش کیخسرو آنجا بود در آد مال نقیصر می کرد و تومان مبارک برادر
 بیکانقور حاجی حمزه داد تومان هر طابان و لک کوجک بیک علی داد بیک شیخ محمد
 مولا بد بغداد و اویرات بیک حسن داد و چون آنجا رفت دخت محمد بیک برادر علی
 با شاه را که پادشاه زاده بود بخواست و مرتبه او بدجه اعلی رسید و نام او
 در جهان منتشر شد و آن رستگان در موغان رفت و در بدی تبه ساکن شد و یور

نو کرفت در سنه تسع و نلس و سبعایه

صفر بود که در آن موضع نزول کرد و هم در آن مدت در خراسان مصافقت
 میان طغای تیمور و ارغونشاه با شیخ محمد مولا بد و او را بکشتند و با دو پسر دستگیر
 کردند تا میر علی و امیر محمد و بقتل آوردند چون خبر بارد و رسید امیر خواست که
 بهایان سال عازم آن طرف گردد و فضا صر کند شیخ حسن بن تیمور با سن
 با برادران در روم بود و در قلعه تر حصار وارتنا با ایشان می سکا لید خواست
 که بارد و آید باز اندیشه کرد و بنیاد فتنه نهاد و در پسر مغلدا پیدا کرد و قن نام

و در ایندو که حاجی حیره بود و تورناش نام کرد و گفت بدو من است که در مصر بیدان
بود خلاص یافت آمد دولخواهون و کلتور میش خاتون را که زن بدوی او بود
هر دورا باو داد و این آوازه در اطراف منتشر شد و اخي عثمان برادر دولت خاتون
با او رد و فرستاد و از زبان تورناش او را کلا خواست مردم که سرت
دستی و عوانی داشتن از اطراف جواب بر و جمع می آمدند و امیر
شیخ حسن باو رفتند ایکن و سووغان و حاجی طغای متوجه آن لشکر شدند
و شهنکی بر پیویر حسین بن شیخ محمود بن جوان داد و در افاق
بهر رسیدند و مصاف دادند بر میسره امیر حاجی طغای بود و حاجی
و ایلیکان برایشان زدند و میمنه ایشان شکستند و هزیمت
کردند و در میمنه یوسفلو بود بالشکر انگوت و شیخ علی با تو مان هربان
و ایل عیسی و یوسف شاه بایل با دو و وانگوت ایچکوز رفت و در انیسر
شیخ محمود در میسره بود بر اینها زد بشکست و هزیمت کرد
شکست بر لشکر میرافت نه بک شکست بر ملک ادریجان افتاد و ازان
روز تا امروز که رایات میمون و حیرمهایوز سلطان معظم شاه اعظم
میرالدین و الدین خلد الله ملکه و دولته درین دیار آمد مردم
راحت ندیدند و با سایی نویسیدند و امیر از لشکر مراجعت کرد و پیویر
آمد و چند روز مبراری بنشست محمد خان او یو سلم خراسانی را
و محمد خان را دستگیر کردند پیش تورناش دروغینه بردند هر سه را بقتل آورد
و شیخ حسن کوچک در عقب حاجی طغای رفته بود و با او عهد و قولی کرده چون

مراجعت کرد پیش از آن حاجی بیک پسر حسن بن جوبان باقر جبری گفته بود
 که شیخ حسن کوچک عالم را گرفت بز بعد قصد تو خواهد کرد همین که بیاید کار او
 یکسو گن چون شیخ حسن برسد قره جبری تمیز نکشید و قصد او کرد شیخ حسن بخت
 و برقت و قره از آنجا بگریز آمد و فرزندان امیر جوبان در تبریز بودند امیر سورغان
 و ملک اشرف و اشرف قرا حسن اشکرا و ایرات با وجان آمد خیر خزام امیر بدو
 رسید همه آنجا قرار گرفت امیر از تبریز با وجان رفت با امیر ایلیکان و مجموع
 ایر و آخته و خویسان و جلایرو باز دگر تبریز آمدند جوبانیان بدو رفتند و دستا در خوا
 داد تبریز بود با امیر بنوستان امیر احوال مملکت نیکو دید سلطانیه رفت حال آنکه جوبانیان
 باز شیخ حسن کوچک پیوستند و روزقان حاجی خاتون مادر سلطان سعید
 ابو سعید و ساملی بیک را بر تخت نشاندند و او را منقاد شدند و الله اعلم

نون
 ای دلداره افه اهن خلین

ادشاهی سیاتی بیک

نه ماه بود و وزارت با میر محمد علی شاه دادند و مارت سورغان شیخ حسن
 کوچک و علی او کوچ و اردو بیضا برادرزاده نیک روز دادند و سلطانیه رفتند و با امیر
 حاج الدین شیخ حسن صلح کردند بر آنکه در عقب ایشان بقرا باغ رود امیر چون
 وضع ایشان بدید اختلاط مملکت ندید در سلطانیه زمستان بنیست از خراسان
 طغایتمور و ارغوشاه کس فرستادند که اگر امیر ایشان را یل بخشد سیم
 امیر یوسف شاه را بفرستاد و طغایتمور را با و رد و ارغوشاه را و با ایشان عهد کرد
 که دفع جوبانیان کنند قره حسن اشکرا جانب مراغه بود غرور تبریز کرد و در تبریز

باجا شاهى سليمان خان

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و سورغان بفراباغ رفت باملك اشرف كه او را تومان اقبی داده بودند و باز مضاف
رفت میان امیر تاج الدوله والدین شیخ حسن طاب شواه و جوبانیان در سنتای
و آن ناحیت حاجی طغای بامیر فرستاده بود كه تعجیل نماید كه این بند نیز بالشكر
برسد شیخ حسن نور تاش جوبانیان دریافتند كه ایصال ایشان دلات بر
كثرت و ظفر خواهد بود مبادرت نمودند و بالشكر بغداد رسیدند در سنه

احدی و اربعین و سبعا به

و حریر بگردند و از جانب مراجعت افتاد امیر بغداد رفت حاجی طغای از میان راه
بازگشت و جوبانیان آن ناحیت را تاراج دهنه داشتند امر آن سلطانیه و همدان
مجموع نواحی خراب کردند تا عمران نباشد لشکر نیز جانب نیاید فقط در اذربایجان
و عراق افتاد شیخ حسن نور تاش در تبریز آمد سورغان بجانب ری رفت و با شیخ حسن
نور تاش عصیان آغاز کرد و بخراسان فرستاد و طغای تورا دعوت کرد شیخ علی کون
برادرش و ازین جا ملك اشرف و حاجی حمزه و جوبانیان بوفتند مضاف رفت
هم درین سال ۸۴۱ سورغان و خراسان را بشكستند و شیخ حسن نور تاش
بالدق در اختن برد و حاجی طغای غافل وقتی واقف شدند كه نزدیک رسیده بود
حاجی طغای بگریخت آن ناحیت بغاریندند و غنیمت بسیار بیاوردند و در سنه

اشی و اربعین و سبعا به

یا عی باستی بن جوبان را بفراباغ فرستاد و شیخ حسن نور تاش در تبریز بسیار عمارت نهاد
و اربابا نه و ناری در اذربایجان انداخت سورغان از روی باز در سلطانیه آمد شیخ حسن نور تاش
محر علی شاه را بفرستاد بر سالت بایم صلح و ترویت نام نوگری داشت با چند سوار در عقب

بفرستاد سورغان غافل نشسته بی قرأول اورا بگرفتند بپیریز آوردند با حرم او دختر خستاه
حرم را سیاست کردند و او را بقلعه بردند و باغی باستی در سینه

ثلاث و لعل و سبعمایه

با ملک اسراف از برادران انفراد کردند پیغداد رفتند بحضرت امیر و نوازها دیدند
مذنبه آنجا بودند در آن موضع معدلت و انصاف بود محکم نکردند بگرفتند بگرفتند
و بجانب شیراز رفتند مسعود شاه با ایشان بگرفتند بدیر حسین را از شیراز هزمت
دادند با سبطا بنه بیامد مروارید بسیار داشت با خود بیاورد تا بشیخ حسن نورانی
دهد و لشکر بستاند مراجعت کند چون رسید او را بگرفت و آن مال بستاند و بعد
از چند روز بدار و هلاک کرد و باغی باستی مسعود شاه و ادرفادرس بقتل آورد و بنه
غارن کرد و چون پیران آن شاه را کردند برو علیه آوردند و از شهر بیرون
راندند و ابواسحق بن محمود را با شیخ برادر ملک فرو گرفت شیخ حسن نورانی سلیمان
خان را با عبدل بابا بخار و یعقوب شاه بچنگل آرتا بر و فرستاد نزد یک سواران مضاف کردند
لشکر و مژمر شد آرتا با فوسون خود ایستاده بود لشکر سلیمان بغارت مشغول شدند
آرتا از جا بجنبید و حمله کرد سلیمان را بکشت و آن محاربه در سینه

اربع و ادبعین و سبعمایه

بود و هم درین سال حلی را با پسرش سیاوش باران فرستاده بود تا بدعت و
بیاد بدی نهادند و ظلم می کردند و شیخ حسن نورانی بپیریز بود دختر حاجی
جیش بن سوخاق در جاله او بود و بستی با شیخ ایل امیر هزاره فحاج او را در حرم خفیدند
بود هلاک کردند و در شهرهایان شدند علی الصباح رومیان که نوکر شیخ حسن کوچک بود

در شهر را کشته شدند هر دو را بدست آوردند و رسیدان بجزیب تمام بکشتند خزان
و مال او پیش سلیمان خان آوردند و هزار و هفتصد تومان زر نقد بود بغير از اجناس
و جواهر و کار سلیمان خان بری گرفت و عزم قوا باغ کرد مگر اشرف و ابغاسی متفق
شدند بودند و عازم شیراز گشته تا حصار کنند عجب انداز مملوک ایلتمور بن لکر کوک را
برفت و این واقعه بدیشان رسانید مراجعت کردند و بپیرز آمدند عدوی اندک بودند
بر هیچ کس تعدی نکردند مگر استر در مراغه بود بایشان پیوست علی که بهادر از
علامان تورناش بود حکومت بخوان داشت و غلبه تمام داشت متصل شد غلبه شدند
و نمود و او باش که در در بجان بودند بدیشان می پیوستند دست بجدی و ظلم
بر آوردند سلیمان خان چاچی حمزه و بر طیل ترسار و بر سالت فرهاد و ایسان را
دعوت کرد بجای برادر هر دو را بکشتند اهل تبریز بایشان محاربه آغاز کردند
ایشان از شهر بیرون رفتند تبریزیان کوه باغ را درخت بکذایند و آب
انداختند یک دور و جنگ بود عاقبت شهر را بکشتند قتل و غارت بنیاد نهادند
شیخ نظام غوری تبقات پیش رفت شهر را بدو بخشیدند و در ساعت منادی
کردند که کس را کس نکوبد و از انجا عازم روم گشتند بطرف سورغان و اواز قلعه
بیرون آمدن بود و مال بسیار در آن قلعه بود با خود بدو آورد و انجا بهد بک پیوستند
بعد از آن خواجه عماد الدین مراوی را که مستوفی و صاحب بلوک بود و خواجه دیوان
بقتل آوردند سلیمان خان با وجان آمد و استبداد بامیر سعید شیخ حسن طاب ثواب
برد و بکشتن وقت جریانیان باز در تبریز آمدند و بنیاد تعدی آغاز کردند نشستند
و اتفاق کردند که از در تبریز تا سلطانیه جدا نماند کشتن از آن سورغان

چشم خزان

باشند جانبِ روم از مرند و بخوان چندانکه تواند کسودن از آن ملک اشرف و برادران
 او باشند از آن و شروان و گرجستان از آن یا غی یا سنی باشند بر آن مقرر شد سورغان
 بعزیزت مشغول شد ملک اشرف بهمند رفت با برادران خود و امر را دعوت کرد
 و لشکر راست کرد و عازم تبریز شد سورغان را مجال مقاومت نبود بهزیمت شد ملک اشرف
 بی او گرفت تا بر رفتند و مصاف دادند ماه سورغان شکست خورد

شد با یا غی یا سنی و امر را که با وی بودند امیر سعید با سلیمان خان بهتر برآمدند
 سلیمان خان بمنقلای تاباهر رفت سورغان بدو پیوست یا غی یا سنی و شیخ جوبان
 و حسینی ابغای یکی شدند ملک اشرف یکی را از ایل ترکلیان بیاورد و بر تخت
 نشاند و در آن خطبه بنام او کرد و انوشروان بغیر ازین نام دیگر او را وجودی
 نبود همچون مرغ در قفس می داشت و از آنجا عمر تبریز کرد امیر سعید مراجعت
 بغداد کرده بود که درین بقیعه نشانی خرابی می دید او هم صاحب دولت بود و هم
 صاحب دل سورغان و ساطی بیک و سلیمان خان بدیاری بگردشت پیش از هم می
 بنابر بنای بن سوای و او پیش از آن حاجی طغای را کشته بود و آن ملک فرو گرفته
 و بدو پیوستند ملک اشرف پیش از آن که بتبریز رسید پیش از آن و حاجی حمزه را
 و یا پسرش شیخ علی و حسینی ابغای را بگرفت و بقتل آورد و در تبریز آمد و نشست

خمس و اربعین و سبعا به

در سنه

و علم ظلم تابعی و قهر افراشت و باری انداختن کبریت بر مردم . والله اعلم

امارت ملک اشرف

سپرده سال بود و یاغی باستی را بکشت و در خفیه هلاک کرد و بی دادی
 در ملک در ملک در بجان واران آغاز کرد شمشیر را بر آوناری برار باب و قلم و بر
 ضعفا راست کرد و عبدل یا بخار را نیز بقتل آورد و زیر او عبدالحی حتمی تهریزی
 بود خواجه مجدالدین شهیدی با او بود در تهریز و فات یافت مقدار چهار صد با
 نصد هزار دینار از فرزندان و شیعیان او بکشد و از آنجا بقراباغ رفت و مصاف افتاد
 میان ملک اشرف و سورغان و ابره میانه بارونه در موضع الداف سورغان
 و ابره میانه شکسته شدند در تاریخ شهر سنه

ست و اربعین و سبعایه

ابر میانه بدیاری بگرفت و نارتد بود بالدف نیز نیامد و سورغان و تودان و
 جیندغان با سانی یک سلطان بر و بر سران تارفتند ملک اشرف تهریز آمد و ظلم از
 سر گرفت یکی را می کشت و یکی را بر می کشید مصر ملک برادر خود را بکشت و باجی جاندا
 و خواجه علی و الیکن هادر برادر را در قفس آهنین کشید و آن سه را بداد بقتل آورد
 و جای ایشان بغلان جانیک می داد و ایشان را بر می کشید و از آنجا بقراباغ رفت و اردو
 پس خواجه مجدالدین را وجه بسیار سیاه بود و مجوس کرده بقلعه نیکله فرستاده
 بود یلسن و بصیر را بداد گرفتند بدان قلعه فرستاد و محرمی می غلامی بود سورغان
 با تودان و جین تودان از ورمی غلامان رفتند و امیر سعید ایشان را محافظت نیک پی
 کرد و ضولی آغاز کردند و الیکن ایشان را سیاست کرد مصاف افتاد میان الیکان و ملک
 اشرف و ناحیت کردند و الیکان تهریز کشت و شکسته شدند در سنه

سبع و اربعین و سبعایه

و امیر ابره میانه
 در تهریز و فات یافت
 مقدار چهار صد با
 نصد هزار دینار
 از فرزندان و شیعیان
 او بکشد و از آنجا
 بقراباغ رفت و مصاف
 افتاد میان ملک اشرف
 و سورغان و ابره میانه
 بارونه در موضع الداف
 سورغان و ابره میانه
 شکسته شدند در تاریخ
 شهر سنه

ملک اشرف تبریز آمد و مال از مردم بغداد می ستانند و خزینه می انباشت و آنال و با
عظیم در ادرجیان افتاده بود سه چیز فراوان بود ظلم و کراخی و و با ملک اشرف باز
عزمت بغداد کرد در شهر سنه

ثمان و اربعین و سبعا به

چون بگردستان رسید و آن ناحیت ضد بگذشت انجا نزول کرد و ملک اشرف را با
مجموع لشکر بغداد فرستاد برفتند و در پیش شیخ ذکران فرود آمدند و هر روز
بر در بغداد می رفتند و حرب می کردند و بازمی گردیدند لطیفه انجا تحریری رو د
از برکشیدگان ملک اشرف رومی جوانی بود امیر احمد ایدو جی و در آن لشکر بود
و با او سخن بود بر کما رشط رفتند و از آن سوی آب از سپاه بغداد بودند بایکدیگر
کلمات می گفتند یکی از آن سوی آب گفت ای ظالمان ادرجیان چون هست آباد بشما
کذاشتیم و انجا آمدیم این بغداد خراب را آبادان کرده ایم نیست از ما چومی خواهید
ندیم آغاز کرد در جواب و گفت ما در روم بودیم و خرابی می کردیم شنیدیم که ادرجیان
آبادان کرده اید آمدیم و شمار بیرون کردیم و آن بقعه را خراب کردیم باز آمدیم
شمار بیرون کنیم و این ناحیت را نیز خراب کنیم درین بودند که پنج سوار مجهول
بیرون آمدند و لاچین غلام ملک اشرف بر در شهر ایستاده بود بر و زدند و او را
هزمت کردند و لوله در لشکر افتاد و از در بغداد رو بگردستان نهادند لشکر بغداد و
و جاله بیرون آمدند و غنیمت بسیار بگرفتند و مردم بیکانه بودند و تابستان گرم
راه نمی داشتند و آب نمی یافتند بسیار از قشک هلاک شدند و آن برج اولیا از شهر
ظالمان خلاص یافت و ملک اشرف باز تبریز آمد و صد هزار گوک کر سنه را در ادرجیا

ن

وآنان انداخت هرچه میخواستند می کردند مردم بجان آمدند همه جلای وطن کردند
بعضی بجلان رفتند و برخی بسروان و دست فحاف رفتند چندی بگرهستان
رفتند بروم و سام و بغداد پراکنده شدند در آن روستای حاجی شهرمانرا با
پسرش که برکشید بود بقتل آورد در قریب باغ آران و در سنه

تسع و اربعین و سبعایه

خواجه پیروز را برکشید و بود بقتل آورد در شیرمال و افریست همه بجز آن
بردند بعد از آن در قریب باغ عبدالحی حسامی را بگرفت کویند سیصد هزار دینار
در سبید نقد داشت غیر از سرخ و جوهر و اجناس همه بخزانه بردند سوار او
یوسته این بود از آن پسر عمر فاروق کرد در شیراز ابواسحق بن محمود را
بود و در کرمان محمد بن مظفر اشل یوسته کرمان از لشکر شیراز در حجت می
بود متواتر محمد یزدی بکل اترق می فرستاد و التماس شکرمی کرد که شیراز برای
میر ملک اترق بکرم و ابوالجی بیانی می آمد یکو که برکشید جدید بود و از ترکمانان
روم پسر حاجی مهدی بن جوان سالار بود او را بمقدمه فرستاد باصفهان و در

سنه خمین و سبعایه

خود نیز در عقب برفت و اصفهان را حصار کرد در اصفهان امیر نجیب الدین مهر بود
و میر میران مردانه بایستادند و قرب یکاه کا بستر محاربه بود عسبیه هادر و
عمر شاه جاندار را در خندق بکشتند بسیار مردم سقط شد مراد حاصل نشد مراد
کرد و بقیه بزم آمد یکی را می گرفت و یکی را قایم مقام او می کرد و از آنجا بوقان رفت
دوبهار و باز بزم مراجعت کرد در سنه

شلاش و خمین و سبعمایه

بایزید و الفی دو غلام بر کشیده او بودند و چون دیدند که طمع حاشیه خود را آورد و طغیان
آغاز کردند میان کجبه و تغلیس به هم پیوستند و آزاب کر بگذشتند بولایت لیاریک
رفتند و دورا آنجا بگشتند و سرهای پیش ملک اشرف آوردند اما مرآ و ملازمان چون آن
دیدند طمع از زندگانی پیریدند اگر از امر او صاحب یکی را می گفتند که میر ملک اشرف
نرا میخواند و صیبت می کرد و در خانه اش بوظایف فرار می بودند در ربع رشیدی
ساکن شد و بفرمود چند اهل فرمان او می رفت امر او معارف و قضا و سادات خانها
در ربع رشیدی آوردند و تخصیص بزرگ اهالی و متعینان شهر نیز خانه بعارف بودند
مجموع روز در شهر بوظیفه خود قیام می نمودند و شب آنجای رفتند مردم جان
رسیدند مرکب باز و میخواستند یکدیگر زرد دنیایک داشت مجموع بقدری و غیر حق جمع
کرد و چهارده خرینه داشت خصایل مردم را و بسیار است اگر بان مشغول می شوم
بطول می انجامد اخضار کرده شد و در شهر سینه

سبع و خمین و سبعمایه

ماه رجب امیر سعید نوایان اعظم تاج الدیار و ولدین شیخ حسن بعلی بباخرامید
و روح پاکش حنّه فردوس پیوستد حم الله و طاب ثوابه و جعل الجنة ماواه و فرزند
خلف خود را ولی عهد کرد بعد از وفات پدر نیکوی خود در کار مملکت نظر کرد و چند
بدعت صحه مقرر بود برداشت

خدا الله ملكه يوشه همت بران مي داشت كه ادرجها نرا از ظلم و تعدی خلاص كند
و علم معدلت برافرازد بحكم انك الاله در رهوت با وفاها موقوف بود و در سته

ثمان و خمسين و سبعاً به

مهر يزدی بر فارس مستولي شد و آنچنان بود كه يكيو كز از ملكا شرف رولردان شد
بشير از رفتن پيش ابواسحق او را سيبه سالار كردايند و بچكل مهر بن مظفر يزدی فرستاد
چون يكد يگر رسيدند مصاف كردند و حرب دريوست بكيو كز بالشكر بشير از شكسته
شد و از ترديكان و بهلوانان ابواسحق بسيار كشته شد در سته

و مهر يزدی پيامي بشير از رفتن حصار كرد روز چند شهر بگرفت ابواسحق برون رفت
بجانب لرونش رفت و از آنجا باصفهان آمد ميرميران و عمال الدين محمود را كه وزير
او بود پيش ملكا شرف فرستاد و التماس كش كرد چون بشير بزيش ملكا شرف رسيدند
بشير بخراف محمود او را مي داد مهر يزدی فرستاد افت اصفهان نيتند و ابواسحق را گرفت
و بسيار كشتند و بزه عراف عجم و فارس مستولي شد و خود را بخلاف منسوب
كرد كه المعتمد بالله نايب امير المؤمنين و او بزر طمع در ادرجها ن بخت و اين فرصت
بدست پادشاه مغفور جاني برك بود و آن چنان بود كه از بلك خان در سته ملك
و اربعين وقت يافت دخی برك قايم مقام شد و او را و برادر ديگر بودند جاني برك
و خضر برك جاني برك با برادر طغيان آغاز كرد و مصاف رفت ميان اينان ديني يكد يكد
شد و كشتار كشت جاني برك او را سياست كرد و بر تخت بزرگ نشست و خضر برك را بيزه لال
كرد و سر بر پادشاهي فرو گرفت و در سته ثلاث و اربعين و سبعاً به و شازده سال پادشاهي
كرد و در ايام دولت او ملكا عظيم آبادان شد كه بسيار دار و اچكان پير و سراه و

ارد بیل و بیلقان و بردع و بخوان از ظلم ملک اشرف انجا رفتند مملکت معمور شدند و گوشت
او زیادت شد همچنان که شیخ سعدی گفته است طمع در ایران بست شعر

نیم نانی گر خورد مرد خدا	بذل و پشان کند نیم د یگر
ملک هفت اقلیم گیرد یاد ساه	همچنان در بند اقلیم د یگر

بلکه جغای رفت و آن دیا و مسخر خود کرد بعد از مدتی که بمقام خود نزول کرد
کویند سه روز بیشتر نشست بسج راه کرد و از آب ترک بگذشت و بدزد آمد
و از انجا بشروان آمد و ایلی فرستاد بملک اشرف که من می آیم تا الوس هولا کو را
صیقل گتم و تو پسر جو بانی که چهار الوس نام را و در بر لیغ بود امر و رسد الوس در
حکم منست و من ترا همچنان امیر الوس خواهم توش میشی کردن بر خیر و استقبال
کن ملک اشرف جواب داد که او پادشاه الوس بر که است بالوس ایضا چه تعلو ندارد
که انجا پادشاه غازان هست و امارت از ان منست ایلی سخنها سخت گفت او را
باز داشت و محبوس کرد و جانی بیک خان بنار کرامت چندان که بملک اشرف
می گفتند قبول نمی کرد تا با غلام رسید مردم پیستوا می رفتند جانی بیک خان از
برزند بگذشت تومان بشکین آمد ملک اشرف محرقولی و شرف حریان و چند نوکر را
بقراول فرستاده بود و برید و دوانید با طرف هر جا که لشکر بود همه جمع آورد
هفت هجده هزار مرد بود خود بسام رفت و با ملازمان گفت این پسر از نیک پاد
او روغ جنک خان و لشکر غلبه سیصد هزار مرد دارد مرا با او مقاومت کردن
طاعت نیست حالیا خزیننه و ابو و اخنا بر گرفتیم بخشی روم و جای محکم پناه گیریم تا
او در آید بعد از ان اگر صلحی رود بینا و الا بروم مردم از او منتفر شدن بودند و بجان

دست

آمده نمی خواستند که او جان بدر ببرد همه روی برخاک نهادند که امیران اندیشه
 نکند غلبه ایشان اسب است سواران بی سلاح اسبهاشان نعل ندارند و تیرها
 پر تا جان بگوئیم دولت برگشته بود و عمر با جرآمد کذب ایشان باور کرد
 و هر توکری را که بگوشه فرستاده بود چون خدمت می رسید ندی گفت هان
 بروید از برای خود نیز بگوئید و از برای من نیز بیارید و
 از شام بیامی عجم از غون رفت سه روز آنجا بنیست و از آنجا بسعد آباد رفت و لشکر
 بناحیت سراه فرستاد بادشاه باردیل آمد و از آنجا سب راه آمد پیش این و شرایان
 فرود آمد لشکر ملک اشرف پیش او جان بایستادند بازان با تکرک بیارند و دولشکر
 برابر بایستادند اشرفیان چون آن کثرت دیدند زمانه بگوئید ندی روی برهنه
 آوردند و قدوقتی ایشان فرو گرفت العهد علی الراوی دوسه هزار آدمی
 بقتل آوردند خبر ملک اشرف رسید بهزمت شد آن شب بکار و اسرای سعدالدین
 ترول کرد و در نیم شب از آنجا برفت رفت مردم همه از و باز ماندند چندی خرابه
 داران بماندند اتفاق کردند که ملک اشرف را بگیرند با خرا نه پیش چانه بیک خان
 برند ملازمانی که با ایشان بودند گفتند با چیزی نرسد هزینه بقره راتا راج در
 نهادند ملک اشرف با خواتونان و خزینه مرصع در پیش می رفت خبر بدو رسید باز
 کردید منع کرد مردم حرمت برداشته بودند بخر و کی التفات نکردند زمانی با
 یستاد و باز گردید روز دیگرها در و دختر و عیال از و بگشتند و بتبریز آمدند
 او بجانب خوی رفت و بعد از آنک روز کاری او را بگرفتند بتبریز آوردند و از آن
 کج و خرابی که مدتی پیرو ده سال جمع کرده بود بظلم دو درم در وجه او تفتیش

جَنَاحَهُ شَيْخِ سَعْدِي كَفْتَهُ اسْت	خبر داری از خسروان عجب
نه آن شوکت و بادشاهی بماند	که کردند بر زیر دستان ستم
خطاب بن صحره بردست ظالم برفت	نه آن جوهر بر روئیای بماند
کانش خطاب بود و ندید پرست	جهان ماند او با مظالم برفت
	که در عدل بود آنج در ظلم جفت

اولاً حضرت جانی بیک خان بردند بگویند و انجا یاساف رسانیدند
و بادشاه پسر خود را ببردی بیک قایم مقام کرد در سرای اولجای خوانون و او بدست بخت
مراجعت کرد و فرزندان و مادر و ملکی اشرف را با خود ببرد خزینه مرصع و بعضی نقره

و موافقی هر چه بود بادشاه پسر بیک

بدو ماه و سیصد شب او ببردی بیک بن جانی بیک بن ازبک بن طویلجه بن مونکا نور بن
نوقای بن باطوی بن جوجی بن جنکر خان چون بدش جانی بیک از در بند بگذشت
و بخورش و بادشاه بسراه رفت و وزیر داری داشت صراحتی نام بدو گفتند که ملکی اشرف را
نیم تنه در جامه بوده است که هر چه قیمتی جوهری داشت در آن دوخته بود پیش
آن کسانست که او را گرفتند ببادشاه عرض کردند قدق را با اخی جوق بفرستاد
ند
تا آن جامه را بیانند چون انجا رسیدند اخی جوق آن جامه بستند و آن جواهر بیرون
آورد و طغیان آغاز کرد بادشاه بسبب واقعه پدو متردد بود لشکر بفرستاد
سه روز با بستاندند روز چهارم مراجعت کردند بادشاه باردیسل رفت و از انجا باران
رفت و از سروان و در بند بگذشت و هیچ جای درنگ نکرد اخی در بند پرامد اشرفیان برو

جمع شدند مملکت فرو گرفتند ، والله اعلم بالصواب

شطارت اخجوت

بک سال بود در بجان بر اشرفیان قیامت کرد هر یکی را ولایتی داد امیرها
راه دار را با کولجک بر حسین باوان فرستاد و سیف الدین بن عینه قتلغ بوسعید آبادی
انجا بود با ایشان مخالفت داشت با معینان اران انجا با میر کاوس بردند و نود و پنجاه
امیر کاوس را بیاوردند و بر سر جوی نو میان ایشان و اشرفیان محاربه رفت امیرها
شکسته شد کاوس بقرا باغ آمد اخی نیز با مجموع اشرفیان عازم اران شدند بجا
ارن پیش رانیه هم رسیدند از دو کنار بایستادند و همچنان محاربه با قرا باغ برفتند
بر سر جسر ارن با هم دیگر صلح کردند کاوس بسروان مراجعت کرد اخی در قرا باغ رفت
انجام ممکن شد و بهار باوجان آمد و بعد از آن صیبت را با آن همایون و کوبه
میمون بود که در عالم منتشر شد که آفتاب سلطنت از توج بغداد طلوع خواهد کرد
و این تاریکی ظلم در بجان غروب خواهد کرد و بسعاع معدنش جهان روشن خواهد شد
و سهیل مرتضی ادریم دلهارا برنگ و بوی خواهد خند و از برج اولیا شهنشاه اعظم پادشاه

سلطان شیخ اویس

غزمت غزو و جهاد با ظلمه و مفسدان در پیش گرفت و بنیت استخلاص اراد بجان از
دست منتشران بیج راه کرد و ازین جانب مفسدان نیز مجتمع بوده روان شدند
و روزی چند ایلیان و رسولان در اثنای راه می آمدند و می رفتند باشد که مصالحه
در میان بظهور آید که الصلح خیر و شفقت و عنایتی که حضرت ملا را

خلداه ملکه وابد سلطنته دربان بندگان
 خرنغالی داشت نمی خواست که هیچ مسلمان ضرری برسد از قتل و غارت
 که عاقبت هیچ ازین دو خالی نیست و صاحب دولت را الهام باطن می باشد
 مقدّر چنین بود که ناحیت از تعدی ایشان استخلاص خواهد یافت لاجرم از
 جرابلس و لشکر صفها را راست کردند و بهم رسیدند سلخ شعبان سنه

و کوشش عظیم کردند بغدادیان و اشرقیان هم برآمدند میمنه خلد ملکه با
 خریسان و تبع بودند میسر و اشرقیان را شکستند اخی جوف را توشون خلد ملکه
 فرزند کرد میسر و عیسی بکل و لشکر ایورات بود زبان نوعی داشتند و اندرون
 نوعی و قصد فرزند داشتند نه سر کوشش میمنه اشرقیان بدیشان رسید مراجع
 کردند نماز تمام بود و لشکر هم برآمد در ناحیت

شی بود همچون که قطران سیاه	نه پروین بیدار بود و نه ماه
نه دمنش بیدار بود و نه دوست	ابر یکدیگر می دیدند بوست

آن شب همچنان نزول کردند چون صبح بدیدند هر دو لشکر آنچه ماند بودند
 سوان گشتند و در مقابل صف راست کردند عبا و نعل سواران تا فلک طلوع کله
 زشم سندان در آن کوه سخت برافت خوارا چه برک خرفت
 و چون آیات همایون بجانب اشرقیان حرکت نمود و لشکر حمله آورد
 و پشاه اسلام پیش از همه بریشان زد و شکست اشرقیان روی زمین نهادند
 لشکر بغداد یک دو فرسنگ در عقب پیامند نفوذ کرد که مراجعت کشد و قتل نکند

و کسی را نیاز دارند اشرافیان در تیریز آمدند و علم ظلم برافراشتند و تعدی آغاز کردند
 و مردم دست از خان و اموال و خواسته بستند و مرصده بستند که بسیار است
 و مرده مقدم رکاب هایون خلد الله ملکه و چند هزار سوار آهمن پوشیده و
 تیغهای هندی گسیده بر آسمان بازی نهشته درآمدند و اشرافیان پیش از آن بجانب
 نخجوان بیرون رفتند و مردم از فتنه ایشان خلاص یافتند و از تعدی که خواسته
 کردن بر میدادند
 والله اعلم بالصواب

سلطنت بادشاه اعظم مالک رقاب الامر شیخ اولین های خان

هشت ده سال

خلد الله ملکه و دولته تا انقراض و انقضاء عالم تا بند و مستدام و پاینده باد
 در تیریز تزلزل کرد و سیر بسندیه و قوا عد خوب و این جهانداران بر عادت معهود
 پیش گرفت و از جواب و اطراف اشرافیان مجتمع شدند هر یکی را بر سبیل مرتبه او
 سو بوعامیستی فرمود و بیشتر نفایز مخصوص کرد ایند بعضی بیای بومر حضرت املا
 خلد سلطنته رسیده بودند خواستند که نزد دغایی باز ندر شدند و فعل بد خو
 گرفتار و غلف تمسیر آیدار شدند و آنها که بیرون بودند با اخی جوق اسبمداد محارمان و
 قاطع طریق بردند و با ایشان میثاق بستند و عازم نخجوان شدند و از آنجا راه اراک
 بسج گردند و مدت یکماه در اراک و بر دعه و یلقان بودند هیچ کس متابع ایشان نشد خوا

که مراجعت نمایند باز اتفاق کردند که بقرا باغ روند و برایشی بکشد بعد از آن
 باز کردند و از بزر علی پلتن را با لشکری بدفع ایستان فرستادند و خلاف رای
 و نیت بد که داشت و باز مردم می گفتند که بآن طایفه وسیلی دلست از آنجه
 ها و آن خود سه روزه راه بی روز رفت و در دره رود بنیست ترا که موغان
 موقوف بودند که علی در قرا باغ رود که دارالملک ارانست تا بر وجه شوند
 رفت و آن طایفه در قرا باغ آمدند ها و آن علی مشاهده کردند بنا طول لشکری
 کرد آوردند در ناحیت سابل با علی مصاف کردند و او را شکستند روز
 چهارشنبه بیست و هفتم صفر سه ور سنه

و او را بهریت کردند و رکاب همایون
 عازم بغداد شد اول خواست که عازمان طایفه کرد دقلب مسان بود
 و مردم درویش در میان هلال می شدند و بلاد و عمارت مسلمانان در اثنای آن
 محاربه تاراج می رفت با حرامی چند در بزر آمد و خرابی عظیم بسر قلم برداد کرد
 و بجاییکرد مسان رفت و خواست که آن نواحی تاراج دهد راست نیامد از
 بصره بسیار سقط شد و در دوم شوال ۸۶۰ محاربه بود میان محمد بن مظفر
 و اخوی و زبهار سنبه پیش و زرقان خواجه لولوباز اخوی شکسته شد و از اشرفیان
 بسیاری قتل آمد و اخوی خوف یقین بهریت شد و امیر محمد بن مظفر نزدی در
 بزر آمد و یک جمع بگذارد که باز او آن مقدمه لشکر منصور برآمد که بفرخی
 و فیروزی می رسید در روز یکم رفت و از بزر تاراج و هیچ جای درنگ نکرد و

و در این محاربه
 بسیار کشته شدند
 و از بزر تاراج
 شد و از اشرفیان
 بسیاری قتل آمد

وَنَاسِبَادِ چُونِ تَقْدِيرِ اَیْرِدِی تَقْدَسْ وَ تَعَالِی چَانِ رَانْدَه بُوْد که اَیْنِ مَلِک و
 مَلِکَت و اَیْنِ نَحْت و سُلْطَنَت و زَوِی و نُصِیْب اَیْنِ حَضَرَتِ بَالِضَرَتِ
 خَلَدِ اللّهِ مَلِکَه و اَبَدِ دَوْلَتَه خَوَاهَد بُوْد و بَا سُد لَاجَرَمَ جَانِی یِکَل خَانِ اَکَرِچَه سَر
 دَنَع کَرْد چُونِ مُرَاجَعَتِ کُودِ دَر رَا ه و فَا ت یافت اَمِیرِ مَحرَبَن مَطَرِ بَرْدِی چُونِ
 مَترَب رَسِید بَدَسَیْ بَرانِ مَحْمُول سُد و بَعْد اَز اَن مَر کِه رَا دَر دِل مَخَالِفَتِی بُوْد
 جَانِ بَدَر بَرْد و بَدَسَیْ بَد کَانِ اَیْنِ حَضَرَتِ اَعْلَی
 لَا زَالَ عَالِیَا کَرِفتار و پَاي مَالِ اَجَل شُدَنَد نَا بَا دِ چَیْنِ بَا دِ آ مِیْنِ بَارِتِ
 لَعَالِ مِیْنِ

نسب شریفش

پَدَر نِکُو : شَ اَمِیرِ مَرْحُومِ سَعِید نَاجِ الدِّیْنِ اَوَّلِ الدِّیْنِ شَیْخِ حَسَنِ بَنِ اَلْاَمِیرِ السَّعِیدِ حُسَیْنِ
 بَنِ اَمِیرِ شَهِیدِ اَبُو قَا کُور کَانَ بَنِ اَمِیرِ مَغْفُورِ اَیْ لَکَانَ نُو بَانَ اَنَا رَا اللّهِ بَرَاهِیْمُ ه
 وَا لِدَ اَشْ خَتُونِ سَعِیدِ مَغْفُورَه اَوَّلِجَاي سُلْطَانِ بِنْتِ اَرغُونِ خَانِ بَنِ اَبَا قَا خَانِ بَنِ

هُوَلَا کُو خَانِ بَنِ تُولِی خَانِ بَزْجَنکَر خَانِ **وَالِدِ اَشْ**

مَادَرِ نِکُو شَ خَانُومِ مَرْحُومَه مَغْفُورَه سُلْطَانِ الْخَوَاتِیْنِ دِلشَاد خَتُونِ بِنْتِ اَمِیرِ دِشْتَوَاجِ
 نَا اَمِیرِ السَّعِیدِ جُوبَانَ نُو رَا اللّهُ مَضْجِیْمُ وَا لِدَ اَشْ نُو رَسَنِ خَانُومِ بِنْتِ کُو بَجَلِ خَانِ
 بِنْتِ اَحْمَدِ خَانِ بَنِ هُوَلَا کُو خَانِ وَ بِنْتِی مُوجِبِ مِی رُوْد

هولو دمبارکش